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leather-trimmed upholstery.* Eth After all, if the new Mazda 929 didn't offer the prerequisites of uncommon comfort and performance, it not only wouldn't be a

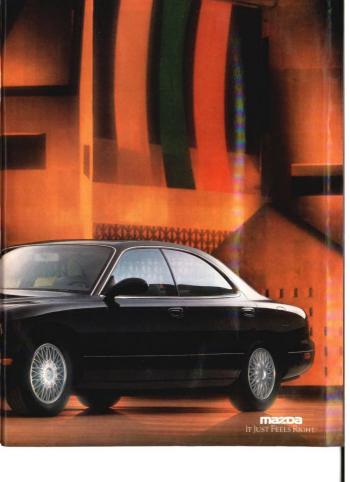
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*Seats upholstered in leather except for back side of front seats, bottom cushion side panels, and other minor areas. © 1991 Mada More of America Inc.







Sal's daughter has a new credit card. She says her bills don't come until she wants them to. We asked her what kind it was but she said, "It's a Private Issue." So we didn't pry.



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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Forever young

On October 4, Mobil celebrated its 125th birthday. A century and a quarter. A long time for any commercial entity, and something to take pride in. And we do, while bearing in mind that "what's past is prologue." It's the next 125 years that really count.

Still, when you think about it, entering the second quarter of our second centurity is quite an accomplishment. After all, in 1866 the courty was emerging from the first prucible of the CNI War. The first successful oil well had been drilled only seven years before. Victoria was Ouene of England and Andrew Johnson had just succeeded a marryred president. And the seeds of a great enterprise were sown in a backyer of in Rochert And the seeds of a great enterprise were sown in a backyer of in Rochert the kide of distilling crude oil in a vacuum. They were looking for greater yelds of kerosene, which they drift rige, but the residue left behind by

the experiment yielded a superior lubricant.

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Mobil traces its roots, and the rest is-well, history.

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Flexibility, technology, quality, diversity, performance. Distinctive characteristics that have helped us grow over the last century and a quarter—and which will help us continue to succeed in the years ahead.

Underlying all those characteristics, of course, are the peoplefrom the visionaries who first sew the future in the residue of that early experiment, to our employees, the dedicated men and women who through the years have kept their sights on other distant horizons. They have taken us this far. As we thank them, and our thousands of shareholders and millions of customers around the world, we also piedge to continue the journey far into the future.

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LETTERS

LOST TRIBES, LOST KNOWLEDGE

"The wonderful diversity of life is the true legacy of humankind."

> George Nicholas Kamloops, B.C.



Your article is an illustration of beautiful people with beautiful minds [CULTURES, Sept. 23]. How can we white folk think our textbooks hold all the world's formulas? We are merely one small group.

Cheryl Malin Los Angeles

Can mankind survive the loss of native culture? Of course. We outlived the loss of Cro-Magnon man, Neanderthal man and who knows what others. The only species that we may not outlast is modern man.

Don Keeley

Huntington Beach, Calif.

Lost tribes mean not only lost knowledge of language, medicine, plants and other matters of interest to scientists but also lost knowledge of our deeper selves and man's true nature. We need to look into the myths of these tribes for clues to our spiritual potentialities and the essence of our existence. That may be more important than studying their primitive science.

Paul S. Pottinger

Bravo for Eugene Linden's report on vanishing tribes. But his preoccupation with potential scientific uses for tribal

LETTERS

knowledge reveals that he is trapped in the very attitudes he seeks to dispel. Herbal medicines, for example, are valuable not only for their pharmaceutical properties but also because they belong to rich systems of ideas, values and symbols that have nothing to do with Western science. When the chance to appreciate and learn from the diversity of meanings that different cultures have brought to human existence.

Allan Hanson Professor of Anthropology University of Kansas Lawrence, Kans.

As an ethnologist, I do not favor the idea of studying tribal headmen as genisses or for economic interest. Soon the West will exhaust their usefulness and forget tillem. Tribal people are no ecological sages. Let us regard them as our equals and secure for the Westernized members a place in the Western world and for the forest stayers their Lebensraum.

Horace Wan-kan Chin Göttingen, Germany

Before World War I, my uncle was a rubber grower in Sumatra, an island that has many animals and insects unknown to the Western world. He fold this story. One night a company executive was bitten on the leg by a large, poisonous centipede. The leg swelled painfully to nearly twice its normal size. A white doctor was called, but could do nothing. Meanwhile a native boy went out and brought back some plant leaves, which he crushed, making a poulleaves, which he crushed, making a poulmost at once the inflammation leg. Almost at once the inflammation register.

Lincoln K. Davis South Easton, Mass.

Not enough recognition was given to the wealth of information to be found right here among the U.S.'s own Native Americans. What an insult to the people who, once again, have been forgotten.

Liza Bancel Ann Arbor, Mich.

Your photographs were a travesty. Obediently posing for a photographer enamored of his own conventional church-directory assembly-line technique against a background borrowed from the Main Street Wedding-Photo Shoppe, the subjects are reduced from human beings to cute anthropological curiosities.

Raphael Shevelev San Francisco

Chiropractic Relief

The chiropractic profession has endured because chiropractors and their methods have helped millions of people, often after medical experts failed [HaA171, Sept. 23]. Intested of noting that the field is "winning adherents up a spect," you should have emphasized the monopolistic interests and negative image that the profession has struggled to overcome. By secking our physicians for their acceptance and opinion of chiropractic, That perpetuates a second-rate image that prevents people from using, without hesitation or stigma, drugless nonsurgical chiropractic services.

Edward M. Simon, Chiropractor Van Nuys, Calif.

A question for American Medical Association boneheads who think that chiropractic is quackery: If it's just a seam, how is it that I feel 10 years younger after every visit? Why chiropractor offers a wide range of treatments for an ill-temperal lumbar region, and treats me like the intelligent person I am. After each session! walk outfeeling that I got my money's worthmedicine in the '90s.

> Thomas Pope Fayetteville, N.C.

The Crop-Circle Puzzle

I am surprised that you would accept at face value the transparent publicity ploy of the two Englishmen who claim that since 1978 they have been responsible for creating the mysterious crop circles in England's grain fields [SCIENCE, Sept. 23]. The two adduced no evidence whatsoever of their ability to create complicated pictogram patterns at night, when more than 95% of the 2,000 circles reported worldwide in the past 13 years are known to have been formed. According to press accounts, the demonstration the two gave in broad daylight of how they produced a circle resulted in a ragged travesty, not a true crop circle. The media have been had.

Dennis Stacy, Editor MUFON UFO Journal San Antonio

It's delightful to see a couple of good ole boys expose some nonsensical, scientific theories. Fact is stranger than fiction.

Harold Atkinson Fort Wayne, Ind.

California Dreamin

When I was a car designer for General Motors in Detroit in the 1950s, we used to joke about how much we neceded—and wanted—a California studio. At last it's happened [Bussness, Sept. 23]. Good design is not only the creative act; it is also the conditioning of top management to recognize, accept and use advanced ideas. These studios help that happen by being in California, where senior auto-company executives are exposed to the life-style there.

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LETTERS

The same process is now under way in another trend-setting region: Europe. Japanese and American automakers are setting up studios here to give them access to Europe's unique and prestigious blend of taste and flair.

Karl E. Ludvigsen London

Those aren't designers at work in California. They are merely stylists. There is nothing rational about conceiving of a vehicle in the shape of a buffalo, as designer Michael Ma did. Such nonsense led to the silliness of tail fins on the cars of the late '50s. A "designed" car can be produced, and if done well, it will endure beyond the consumer-buying cycles that nourish the automobile industry.

Kirby Metcalfe Dallas

Right-Wing Radio Spellbinder

Celebrity types come and go, but talkshow host Rush Limbaugh has that something special that will keep people enamored of him for some time to come [RADIO, Sept. 23], Granted, his style is entertaining-it has to be-but the issues he tackles are deadly serious. Limbaugh gives the lowdown on matters in a truthful, albeit humorous, way. To paraphrase him, it takes six weeks of dedicated listening to understand fully just where he is coming from. After six weeks of listening, people find themselves shamelessly addicted to him. Myself included.

Greg Perry Richmond, Ky.

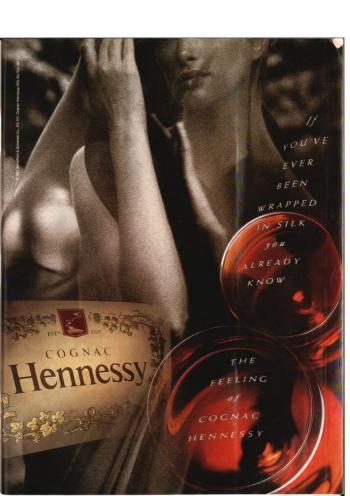
I tuned in on Limbaugh to see if TIME's characterization was accurate. It was. However, I heard something else too, No one with half a brain, not even the half Limbaugh claims to be using, could possibly believe the man's rhetoric. It is staggering to think there are 2 million people in this country who at any moment are listening and agreeing. Now, there's an indictment of public education.

Leif Fearn La Mesa, Calif.

Hardball in the Middle East

President Bush is totally misguided in choosing to play hardball with Israel, particularly on the issue of settlements, which strikes at Israel's very raison d'être: the ingathering and sheltering of Jews from threatened communities [WORLD, Sept. 23]. Jews were praying for this kind of safe haven long before there was a United States of America, and one mortal man is not going to stem the tide. The President of the U.S. should understand, do the right thing and back down.

Jeffrey J. Lipsitz





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LETTERS

harael's request for an immediate \$10 the settlement of immigrating Soviet Jews and Israell displeasure at the U.S. govent Jews ment's reluctance to comply with a kneejerk favorable response reveal an argance certain to outrage American tapayers. What would prevent Pendinster Vizhak Shamir from using the money to free up other funds for most construction in the occupied terminals.

Herb Kane Captain Cook, Hawaii

Mathematical Tip

Pico lyer's Essay on the fascinating aspects of the number 9 was enthusiastically greeted by our readers [Sept. 16], many of whom wrote us with anecdotes or points that Iyer didn't include. One of the most intriguing ideas came from Nancy Joy Perkins of Cambridge, Mass., and also from Sara McDuffee Normington of Portland, Ore. They suggested an old trick to help in multiplying by 9. As they point out, you don't have to memorize the 9-times table, you can use your fingers. Hold your hands open. To multiply 3 x 9, bend under the third finger of your left hand. Then read the answer starting from the left. The first digit of the answer (2) is to the left of the bent-under finger, and the second digit of the answer is the sum of the fingers (7) to the right of the bentunder finger. It works great up to 10after that you've got to rely on those old multiplication tables.



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The Trials of Convicting Rapists

Veteran Manhattan prosecutor LINDA FAIRSTEIN tells how she goes about proving date rape and protecting victims from being violated a second time in the courtroom

By MARGARET CARLSON

Q. In acquaintance rape, there is an impression that a woman had better have led a sterling life or else she will suffer when the case comes to trial. For instance, a woman goes to a party, meets someone and goes to his

house afterward. They have a drink. If the situation turns ugly and she is raped, she should be above reproach and have some broken bones, especially if her assailant is some clean-cut college guy.

A. Sadly, many people believe there are people who, because of their social class, appearance, whatever, can't commit these kinds of crimes. That's ridiculous, since rapists come in every size, shape and background. Part of what we do is shatter these preconceived notions. For example, acquaintances where there hasn't been a sexual relationship before the event is not a difficult case to try. Legislative changes and specialized police and prosecutorial units like ours have made it a lot easier

Q. No one in her right mind would consent to group rape, to sodomy, to being force-fed alcohol to the point of stupefaction. Yet defense attorneys have successfully argued consent in outrageous cir-

cumstances, especially if the victim slips up on a detail—saying it was vodks, for example, when the defense proves it was gin.

A. It a jury finds enough inconsistencies in a story, they may reject the story. And if some acts are consensual and others aren't, you have to separate these for a jury. We've had a lot of experience where vietims have used alcohol leading up to what becomes a sexual assault. A prosecutor should be able to present a picture that says yes, she did x y and z, and that's what made her more vulnerable, that's what made her less able to repel an attacker. You have to get the jury to see that you may not want to take this woman home to



dinner because she was doing cocaine all night or shooting heroin and then drinking beer chasers, but that doesn't mean she asked for it.

Q. If her story isn't coherent, that's a problem. But if her story is too coherent, that's a problem too. How can she remember something so traumatic so clearly?

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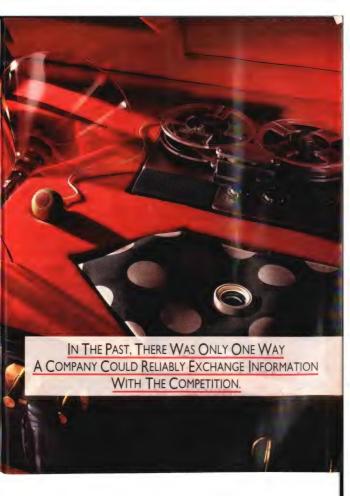
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A. I've heard that kind of excuse too, that she was not upset enough. There are some survivors who relive each part of the episode like a single camera frame and others who repress it. But each telling is different. With a serial rapist, for example, you know exactly what he says when he approaches each woman, what the language is, what the sexual acts are, how long it took. And yet it's fascinating to see five women at trial testify about a very similar event very differently, depending on each woman's emotional strength, at what point this happened in her life, how she's recovered.

Q. The rape victim is often the only witness. lan't that a problem, especially if she kept her eyes shut the whole time?

A. Many crimes have only one witness. Most muggings are one witness against the person he identifies in a lineup three months later. A mugging, it's 90 secondsdon't scream, don't look at my face, give me your money-often from behind. A sex offense rarely lasts less than 15 to 20 minutes, and if the assailant has the victim in her apartment, on a rooftop, it can last an hour. So the information is there through every one of her senses, unlike other kinds of crime. No one forgets really. It's getting her to trust what you're doing, knowing that remembering can convict her assailant. And the conviction rate is very high. I take pleasure in being able to tell people about that high conviction rate because that's not what made-for-TV movies

Q. Your most famous case involved Robert Chambers, who was tried and convicted in 1988 for the murder of Jennifer Levin in Central Park. The episode quickly became known as the preppie murder case, attracting headlines around the world, producing a book and a movie. While the jury was out, you accepted a plea of manslaughter. Weren't you disappointed?

A. The trial lasted 11 weeks. The jury worked on the case for nine days, the longest deliberation of a single-defendant case in New York County history. We took the plea realizing there was not going to be a verdict. Of course I was disappointed.

Q. Jennifer Levin's parents were in the courtroom every day of the trial, being reminded that their daughter died a horrible death. Why do families put themselves through that?

A. It's part of the healing process, although no one ever heals from a loss like that. Since then, the Levins have thrown themselves into victims work and are active in Parents of Murdered Children. I remain very close to the family. They entrusted me with their daughter's memory. It's the survivors who give the work its purpose. I'm godmother to Jennifer's sister's child.

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Venus may also be a window into our past, when the Earth was very young. It puts us one step closer to understanding how "twin" planets, so similar in size and location, could evolve so differently. What caused the atmosphere of Venus to change into an out-of-control "greenhouse effect?" What does it mean to our own future here on Earth?

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devours a hapless

TIME, OCTOBER 14, 1991

INTERVIEW

Q. What do you think about the recent naming of a rape victim by newspapers and a network without her permission?

A. I think it's very courageous for a survivor to let her name and face be attached to this crime, and doing so makes it easier for other survivors. But it's still too difficult for a lot of survivors, still too much of a stigma attached, especially in acquaintance rapes, where they are so often blamed unfairly for participating in what happened.

Q. Are women jurors harder on women than men are?

A. I've had women who are intelligent and have a lot of common sense who make terrific jurors, but too often women tend to be very critical of the conduct of other womeen, and they are often not good jurors in acquaintance-rape cases.

Q. Do you deal with male-on-male rape? A. Yes, it's a serious problem. But again,

it's underreported because so many people stigmatize the victims.

Q. Do you have regrets about anyone who got away?

A. I had an acquittal in a case with a 13year-old victim who was destroyed on cross-examination. The defendant was acquitted and then went out and raped and killed a woman in the same elevator in the same building about three weeks later. It was terribly painful. I knew the weight of that case was in my hands, and it was predictable to the detectives and all of us who worked on the case that this was the right guy-whether or not the victim could articulate the reasons why-and that he was a very, very dangerous man. I've taken plea bargains from defendants, settling for eight-year sentences rather than lose the cases altogether. Then the guy does his eight years and gets out and attacks somebody else. And you think to yourself, maybe if I had got 20 years . .

Q. Rape is not sex, it's violence. Doesn't spending the better part of your professional life seeing sex mixed up with violence affect your attitude?

A. The professional has a very dark side, but I'm blessed with a life outside this job that's very bright, a wonderful marriage, a great family and great friends.

Q. When you leave the courthouse at night, do you look around every corner? Do you expect someone to jump out of the bushes? A. You can't get paranoid, but this bushesness has given me a healthier awareness. It tend to protect myself a little better. Not every corner, but I'm fairly eautious.

Q. After seeing thousands of rape cases, what would you tell a woman to do—talk back, be quiet, knee him in the groin?

A. It depends. Screaming, if you're in the lower tunnel in the bowels of Grand Cen-

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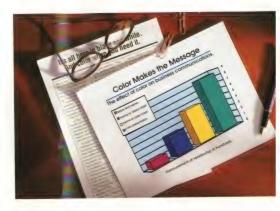




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INTERVIEW

tral station and there's nobody around hear you, does nothing more than agg vate the offender, and he uses more for I've had women who have seen somee close enough-perhaps within earshot and a scream and a kick in the gre worked to send the offender packing. I never had self-defense training, but I heard from many women that it gives the confidence about confronting the siti tion. Some have successfully talked pco down from rape.

Q. Has sex in movies and TV programs sitcoms where teenage boys get laughs seducing teenage girls, increased the nu ber of rape incidents?

A. I haven't seen rapes that have occurs because of someone seeing a movie or show, but I certainly think the attitude t pervades those images takes its toll some men's thinking.

Q. A pamphlet on date rape published Swarthmore College says acquaintance m "spans the spectrum of incidents and bet ior ranging from crime legally defined rape to verbal harassment and inappropri innuendo." Isn't that going too far?

A. Terrible. It minimizes the traum: nature of a forced act of intercourse equating it to something that may ur the person, but it's not nearly on the le with acquaintance rape. I've been on ca puses lecturing when people called kis that are forced on you rape, but it is t and it does a terrible disservice to r. survivors.

Q. Do you have more women in the s crimes unit? Do you find that women dea with women is better?

A. We've had a very good mix tradition over the years, but at the moment we h 14 women and two men. There are a lo women now in the D.A.'s office. Who first came, there were only six women of 200 in the D.A.'s office

Q. Have you ever thought about priv practice? You could be sitting in some hogany-paneled office, Oriental rugs on floor, a silver tea service instead of wdiet Coke from the vending machine and I over plastic cups half-filled with day Slim-Fast.

A. If I ever get up and don't want come to work, maybe. But that's no happened in 19 years. And I'm lucky have a very generous husband. The of has come such a long way. In 1972 th were 18 convictions in sexual-assa cases in New York City's five count and now, I think, the five counties o bined have several hundred succes convictions every year. Women can cover from rape, from the hopelessi and from the feeling that the guy never be punished. Recovery is hel immensely by a conviction.

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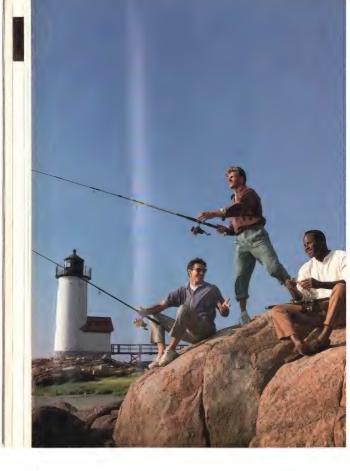
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Home On The Range I'd Like To Teach The World To Sing Let's Play Ball

Ride The Roaring Roller Coaster What I Want To Be

FROM THE PUBLISHER

t was during a recent flight over Arkansas that Margaret Carlson realized one of the ironies of being deputy chief of our Washington bureau, a job she assumed in July. Margaret was aboard a small plane to interview Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, now a Democratic presidential hopeful, when a thunderstorm hit. "Clinton loved it," she says. "But I'm a white-knuckle flyer even in clear skies." As the plane bucked and lurched, she recalled that it is one of her duties to assign stories to the bureau's correspondents-but she had assigned this one to herself

Then again, placing herself on demanding stories is also one of Margaret's pleasures. The job of deputy chief requires her to help keep watch over one of TIME's

most crucial bureaus. But her feel for day-to-day journalism ensures that she spends much of her time reporting and writing as well. And what writing. Carlson's flavorful prose, lucid, tart and funny, is the hallmark of a journalist who sees even the biggest stories in distinctly human terms. "Being a reporter in Washington is like talking across one big backyard fence," she says, "Con-

gress, the White House, the people at the agencies-they're always trading stories with each other and with the press. Carlson made a detour into journalism in 1980, after getting

her law degree from George Washington University. By 1987 she was acting managing editor of the New Republic and joined TIME in 1988. As deputy bureau chief, she helps decide which events we should cover. This week's NATION story on the abuse of congressional privileges is one example. Some members of Congress have been grumbling that the episode is being overblown, Not so, insists Carlson, "It says something important about the cocoon of privilege that

members of Congress live in. You can sample Carlson's interview technique in this week's issue by reading her Q. and A. with veteran Manhattan prosecutor Linda Fairstein. With her new duties, Carlson has to apportion her reporting time more carefully than ever-even when keeping to her schedule means taking a bumpy flight. "I can't say, 'I'll catch up with you later," she laughs. "I have to get on the plane and fly

through thunder and lightning light P. Valle



Carlson in Lafayette Square, keeping an eye on Washington

"Being a reporter in Washington is like talking across one big backyard fence."

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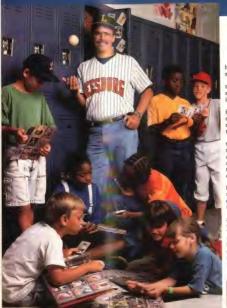
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R MINCH O **OPENS OCTOBER 18**

Mr. Custer's Students Learn Math Fron Giants, Twins And Pirates.



With a simple baseball card, Bill Cust has found a way to turn his students' intere sports into a passion for math.

A fifth grade teacher at Dabney Eleme tary School in Leesburg, Florida, Bill hit or simple but effective way to teach his studer important math skills.

"Baseball cards provide infinite possibi for introducing and reinforcing virtually a skill in mathematics," he explains. "They're motivators for the students, plus they capti the interest of the parents as well."

Bill uses baseball cards in class throug the school year. Students double-check statics on the cards, learning fractions and per ages. The cards are also useful in teaching concepts of perimeter and area, not to men the real world lessons of free market trade: entrepreneurship.

"Every year we sponsor a schoolwide

Every year we sponsor a schoolwide baseball card show," says Bill. "All the stud trade and purchase cards priced from a per on up. It's a wonderful way to teach value the art of collecting."

For this unique marriage between ma and our national pastime, State Ermin is ho to present Bill with our Good Neighbor A The award includes a \$5,000 contribution the Lake County Educational Foundation help Bill establish his baseball card project other nearby schools. "Dabrey Elementa a good neighbor, too," says Bill, "and we we obsare our good ideas with other schools to have our good ideas with other schools."

hare our good ideas with other school. In our book, that's an all-star play.



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THE PUBLIC RELATIONS GUYS MADE ME DO IT

CLARENCE THOMAS is fed up. He believes he was tarnished unfairly by the accusations of some Senators that he is evasive and unscholarly and that he dissembled when he claimed to have held no opinion on Roe v. Wade. But instead of criticizing his accusers. Thomas blames his White House handlers. Says a sympathetic Republican who lobbied Senators on Thomas' behalf: "The White House told him to suck up to people and run away from his views. But as he found out, that approach gets you nothing," Not much respect, anyway.

LONG ON POSITION, SHORT ON POWER

WILLIAM REILLY's unhappy too, and may jump ship. The Environmental Protection Agency director has been telling friends that he is tired of trying to do the right thing on clean air and other issues only to be stymied by more powerful Administration free-marketeers like John Sununu and Richard Darman. President Bush admires Reilly's grit. But Reilly complains that he is becoming the President's environmental poster child and may have to leave to preserve his integrity.

CATCHING SERIAL KILLERS IN THE SPOTLIGHT

How can police in towns separated by hundreds of miles tell when a roaming serial murderer or rapist is at work? The FBI will soon provide a key with its new Combined DNA Identification System (CODIS). The computer program provides a universal registry of DNA traces found in the blood and semen samples the attackers often leave behind. All forensic labs in the U.S. will be asked to use the FBI's system. so that no matter where a person's DNA is tested, the record will be uniform. Using CODIS, authorities can tell if a faceless criminal has been detected elsewhere.

FIRST WE'LL OPEN AN EMBASSY AT THE COPA

Hear the one about the movie star who runs for President? No. not that one Think salsa. Besides his string of hit albums (In Search of America, Nothing but the Truth), RUBEN BLADES has appeared in The Milagro Beanfield War and Mo' Better Blues. Now he may run for President of his native Panama. A committee called In Search of Panama has lined up 500 supporters so far. They say Blades has the ability. integrity and international prestige that isn't found in many homegrown politicians. What's more, he's great at a party.

He regrets following the script

VOX POP

Are women frequently discriminated against in:

Their salaries?

Promotions to highest ranks? Being hired for good jobs?



The man who would be Presidente

WHO INVITED THIS GUY, ANYWAY?

As the Soviet Union slips from superpower status, some folks in the Pentagon must be dving to yell "We won!" GENERAL MERRILL MC PEAK came close. Visiting Moscow recently, the Air Force Chief of Staff addressed several hundred top Soviet air force officers, who were hoping to hear his thoughts on adjusting to the postnuclear era. Instead, McPeak spent much of his time describing the brilliant performance of the U.S. Air Force in the gulf war before musing, "In war, defeat is a better instructor than victory." O.K., so far. But then he added, "This is probably a Russian saving.



A Soviet MiG-29: insulting the cream of the crop

BIG JOHN HOPED THEY WOULD CAST BRUCE WILLIS

With Wall Street powerhouse Salomon Brothers enmeshed in scandal. the forthcoming screen version of Liar's Poker, Michael Lewis' best-selling account of life at the firm, is a hot ticket. Cameras are expected to roll next spring. But who will play fallen Salomon chairman John Gutfreund? Word is that MARLON BRANDO is being considered for the tough, cigar-chomping role, and James Spader for the freshman trainee based on Lewis. Warner Bros. says it's too early to tell who'll get the casting call.



WASHINGTON

Perk City

Wonder why Congress is so arrogant about bounced checks? Perhaps because its members are so used to the freebie life.

By NANCY GIBBS

embers of Congress expect to be called Honorable, but their claim to that honorific is looking pretty flimsy. First came the check-bouncing scam, when investigators found that lawmakers wrote more than 8,000 rubber checks at their private bank last year, free of charge. Then came word of members' stiffing the House restaurant. where prices are already dirt cheap. Suddenly, talk-show comedians, radio deciays, newspaper editorialists and the mailman were all talking about exactly the same thing: How can members of Congress balance a budget and spend tax dollars wisely when they can't even balance their checkbooks or make good on their meal tabs?

What could be a better invitation to civil-disobedience revolt than watching lawmakers who earn \$125,100 travel around

ing to pay for the few perks that are not granted outright. "If ordinary people did that, they would be charged out the wazoo," says C.T. Anderson, a bartender at Manuel's Tayern in Atlanta, who has heard plenty from his customers. "People are just fed up.

Hoping it would all go away. House Speaker Tom Foley at first declared that check-bouncing privileges would be canceled and members would be required to

for free and have their tickets fixed, refus- | pay the same penalties as everyone else for overdrawing their accounts. But rather than blowing out to sea, the storm only gathered strength. Last week Republican Pat Roberts of Kansas and Democrat Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio revealed that roughly 300 legislators owed the main House restaurant and catering service more than \$300,000, thereby confirming the charge that in Congress there is indeed a free lunch

With a flutter of contrition, House members voted 390-8 to shut down



f charge at a shop in the Capitol g. Though the practice is frowns

s with crystal chandeliers as tie waiters. A chicken-salad dwich costs \$2.75, filet mignor The Capitol pin edical treatment for Journ and Sonato members, and all rescriptions are free. Health insurance is provided by a group plan offered through Congress.



None of your business.
None of your damn business.

- DAN ROSTENKOWSKI. WHEN ASKED BY REPORTERS IF HE HAD BOUNCED ANY CHECKS

their private bank, which by this time had been dubbed B.C.C.L. the Bank of Corrupt Congressional Incumbents. Dozensof Lawnakers came forward and admitted writing bad checks, offering up the occasional absentimided staffer as a searcificial lamb. Refusing to release names of all the deadbeats. Folloy referred the issue to the House ethics committee. But that move also mivted derision at the idea of the ethi-

cally blind leading the ethically blind. It turns out at least some committee members, including the chairman, have been named in the scandal.

> The furor began when the General Accounting Office revealed that in one year alone, members of Congress bounced 8,331 checks—581 for \$1,000 or more—ging themselves, in effect, interest-free loans, Millionaire luwmakers, said investigators, were among the worst offenders, but

the habit was shared by Foley, majority leader Richard Gephardt and minority whip Newt Gingrich, which may help explain the lack of enthusiasm for an investigation among any but the most novice Congressmen. "I wrote one check for insufficient funds," said Gingrich, "and deposited funds to cover it within 48 hours."

In some cases, debts of \$10,000 and norewere folial over month after month, with no penalties and no interest charged, seepant at arms Jack Russ, who is in charge of the House bank, bounced a check for \$10,000 in 1998, Republican Phil Crame of Illinois announced that he had bounced as single check for \$23,000 in the New York of the

arise flancia course, when the course of the

Other members would not, as they say, dignify the charges with a response. Wasy and Means Committee chairman Dan Mestersthown as particularly forthright.
"None of your business." he told reporters his staff members explained that Rostenkows with land mere brounded at check that visual for the staff in t

would have heard from me." Majority leader Gephardt was at pains to explain that lawmakers had been irresponsible only with each other's money, not the Treasury's. "The public should be aware that not tanguaper funds were used to cover insufficiencies." he said. "The funds of other members of Congress were employed to that end." Meanwhite. Speaker Foley called the reporting on the story "hysterical" and observed that the vast mamount of the checks were for very small amount.

Which is, of course, utterly beside the point. All the posturing just ignored the symbolism. Members of Congress seemed in some cases to be genuinely surprised



No, Daddy,
I didn't. I can't
believe that even you
are asking me
about this.

—PAT SCHROEDER.
WHEN HER FATHER ASKED IF SHE HAD
WRITTEN ANY BAD CHECKS

at the rage the revelations unleashed. Why is everyone interested in this, they wondered, and not my views on the coup in Haiti? All of which served to confirm the impression of a body of lawmakers out of fouch with the lives of their constituents and in the habit of placing themselves above the law. This is the Congress, after all, that defends affirma-



Finding a parking place is no sweat for members of Congress. When on official business, they can park in any spot, except in hospital zones or in front of fire hydrants. And at local alreports they have access to specially marked lots, which are free.

Capitol Hill barbershops hark back to the good old days. Price of a haircut is \$5, a fraction of what most other shops in town charge. Lawmakers can keep the rest of their bodies in shape at the House gym, which

features a masseuse



Members of Congress and their staffs can keep their vehicles spruced up in two car washes located under the House office buildings. The charge: a nominal \$3.

tive action and passes laws banning racial discrimination in hiring but then exempts itself from the same guidelines. It was impossible to get all the names of the check bouncers last week because Congress is not covered by the Freedom of Information

Certainly it would be unfair to charge an entire institution with crimes committed by a few. But the real issue here is not about criminal behavior. It is about a congressional culture of privilege and protection that is entirely legal because its members make its laws. And it is about how representatives go about doing their jobs when they are their own employers.

There is no shortage of excuses from those who defend the privileges. Many lawmak-

ers consider public service a personal sacrifice. If they were lawyers in private practice, they could make many times the salary they take home as legislators. They are often required to maintain two homes, attend costly fund raisers for innumerable causes, live in an expensive city, work long hours and go begging to wealthy supporters for the money they need to keep their jobs for two more years. A cheap car wash may not seem much in return

But this culture of privilege, so stubbornly protected, is not well suited to these hard times. When uninsured workers live in fear that one illness could wipe out their life savings, it is enraging to hear of the

Who's Sorry Now?

A s chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Representative John Dingell has gained a reputation as Capitol Hill's fiercestand most feared-watchdog on fiscal prudence. His well-publicized investigations have focused on everything

from wasteful military spending to sloppy accounting for federal research funds at universities. So whose name should be high on the list of congressional check bouncers? Yes, John Dingell's,

The Michigan Democrat admitted writing nine checks that his House bank account could not cover during a fiveweek period in early 1990. All were inadvertent, he asserted through a spokesman, and were covered as soon as they were discovered. "It was an honest mistake," said aide Dennis Fitzgibbons. "These bounced checks did not cost the taxpayer any money. The overdrafts were voluntarily disclosed.

And what did the grand inquisitor himself have to say? No comment.

House pharmacy dispensing free prescrip-

tion drugs, not to mention the private con-

gressional ambulance that protects mem-

bers from the urban nightmare of

emergency-room gridlock. When families

who know how to squeeze a dollar until the eagle screams still cannot find the money

for a haircut, the House barber takes on a special symbolic weight. When young fam-

ilies cannot get a mortgage on a house, the

idea of free loans to lawmakers is bound to

last week. "They're supposed to be making policy for the United States, and they can't

Those members of Congress who ventured back to their districts got an earful

rankle.



even keep their checkbooks

balanced," said attorney Steve

didn't." she replied. "I can't believe that even you are asking me about this. But with the onset of a campaign season, everyone will be asking, as lawmakers

end of the week, and even he

asked if she had been writing

rubber checks, "No. Daddy, I

are bound to learn in the months to come. No event could have better breathed life into the call for limiting the number of terms a Congressman can serve, a proposal that refuses to die and is bound to land on ballots next fall. But for what it was worth. legislators could take some small comfort in the fact that few people could claim to be perfectly clean. The culture of special privilege, it turns out, is so pervasive that those using the House bank included not only members and their staffs but also journalists who cover Capitol Hill. Maybe it's time to move the nation's capital to Omaha. -Reported by Ann Blackman and

Wholesale Politics

N ced a crystal ice bucket for the office? The price isn't bad: just \$83. How about a handsome garment bag? Only \$197.50, compared with \$395 at a typical luggage shop. A Polaroid Spectra camera will run you \$99.57. Buy one at a Washington camera store, and you'll pay \$174.99. These items are not your run-of-the-mill office supplies.

But then, you probably aren't a regular shopper at the House and Senate stationery stores. These emporiums stock, along with paper clips and legal pads, an array of merchandise that would look odd sitting atop a legislative aide's

desk: pewter serving trays, crystal candlesticks, leather wallets, china vases, silk neckties and much more. All at rock-bottom, wholesale

The public can browse through these stores, located in the basement of the House and Senate office buildings. But only Senators, Congressmen and members of their staffs flashing proper I.D. are allowed to buy. Items can be paid for in cash or charged to the lawmaker's account, in which case the cost is then deducted from a fixed amount allot-



ted to each legislator for office expenses (which includes travel and staff salaries as well as supplies). The trouble is that no one checks to make sure the merchandise is being used for legitimate official purposes. Customers who buy items for personal use are supposed to say so-

Nancy Traver/Washington

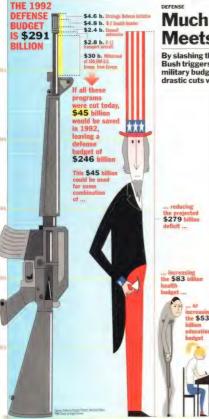
and be charged 10% extra. In practice, few volunteer to pay the surcharge. "Do you really think people are buying crystal champagne flutes for the office? asks an aide to a House leader, "Those things

make great wedding gifts." To some bemused observers, the situation is reminiscent of the Soviet Union before the collapse of the Communist Party. Average Soviet citizens used to grumble at the special access party apparatchiks

had to stores selling merchandise in scarce supply for everybody else. Capitol Hill shoppers aren't quite so pampered, but they still have a major perk. Taxpayers may never know if they are footing the bill for personal items, since it is up to every lawmaker to follow the rules. But at the very least, tax dollars are supporting two bustling shops that give a big price break to a select few.







Much Less Than Meets the Eye

By slashing the nuclear arms arsenal, Bush triggers a debate over whether the military budget is still too big. But even drastic cuts would not produce a windfall.

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

toking a hot debate over the defense budget was certainly not George Bush's intention when he announced his bold plans for slashing nuclear arms. But his initiative is already spurring critics in and out of Congress to ask more insistently than ever why the nation needs to spend nearly \$300 billion a year, and continue to buy some superexpensive hightech weapons, if the worldwide face-off with the Soviet Union is rapidly becoming a memory. With Mikhail Gorbachev announcine major cuts in the Soviet nuclear arsenal at week's end to match, and possibly exceed, the U.S. reductions, and with Democratic presidential candidates stepping up their campaigns, the questioning is sure to grow in intensity and decibel level.

Some preliminary skirmishing got under way last week when a Senate-House conference committee began considering the \$291 billion defense authorization bill for the fiscal year that began Oct. 1. It immediately became obvious that Bush's initiative had strengthened the hand of House conferees who want to cancel the B-2 bomber program after the 15 now on order are delivered and to put up only a bit more than half the \$5.2 billion the Administration requested for the Strategic Defense Initiative. The Air Force did not help the B-2's cause by admitting that in a July flight test the Stealth bomber proved to be embarrassingly unstealthy. Fundamentally, the problem is that many legislators consider the B-2 and SDI to be anti-Soviet systems that are rapidly losing whatever justification they ever had. The lawmakers are not buying Pentagon efforts to portray both as being useful in a conflict with a

country, like Traq.

More important. Democrats are increasingly talking about reopening the soculed budger summi agreement of lost
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particul the agreement as a ritiruph, because at forced labbs into abundoning his
pledge not to raise taxes. But they have
once to see it instead as an albatross that
they helped lung around their own aceks,
military appropriations further and using
the money to expand domestic social programs. Under the agreement, caus in degrams. Under the agreement, caus in de-

Nation

fense, or any other broad category of spending, below the ceilings already established through fiscal 1993, can only be used to reduce the budget deficit.

It is far too late for any substantial revision of the fiscal 1992 budget. Bush's aides predict that the conference committee will as usual split the difference on the B-2 and SDI. That would mean ordering a few more bombers and funding a modest version of the missile shield somewhere between the House figure of \$3.5 billion and the Senate's \$4.6 billion. As for the budget agreement, it has been written into a statute, the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990. To make sweeping changes would require passage of a new law, and Bush almost certainly would east a veto that his opponents could not override. There is no sign that the Democrats are willing now to force such a futile showdown.

But both sides are bracing themselves for a knockdown battle beginning in January, when Bush presents his budget plans for fiscal 1993. Democrats, possibly with some Republican support, will make determined attempts to kill weapons systems, lower troop levels, and reduce spending below the cuts the Administration already plans. They also will look for-and mayhe invent-loopholes in the Budget Enforcement Act that would permit transfer of funds to social programs. For example, they might try to redefine as "defense" spending some types of environmental outlays.

"There will be a major assault on the budget agreement," predicts an aide to Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. "Word inside the shop is that if all else remains equal, we're in for a budget free fall."

One 'cusson is partisan politics. An attack on Bush for devoting far too much time and effort to foreign policy and too much money to defense while scandalously neglecting the nation's multifarious domestic worries—housing, education, drug abuse, racial conflict—swiftly becoming the dominant theme of the Democratic work of the contract of the contr

In fact, the Democrats are heavily overestimating the potential savings from such steps as bringing home even more troops from Western Europe than the 100,000 the Administration contemplates transferring Stateside. Some polls indicate that cutting defense may not be quite as popular as the Democrats think, either. In a THME/CNN poll by Yankelowich Clancy Shufman, large majorities of those surveyed wanted to bring U.S. troops home from Korea (1946), as well as Western Europe (60%). But on the broader question of whether the nation should "make large-scale cutbacks in decrease spending." They said no by \$40% to 42%. Even so, the idea of switching spending from defense to democstly programs is more designed to the control of the

Partisanship, though, is far from the wholes story. There is a genuine need to reshape the U.S. armed forces for a post-cold war world, and a perfectly legitimate question as to how much spending, how many soldiers and what types of weapons

The B-2 Stealth bomber, hurt by its unstealthy performance in a July flight test

are required. After dropping 11.3% in just need tissel 1991, the Pentagon budgetunder the Bush Administration's plans would go down an average of 3% (after adjustment for inflation) in each of the following five years. Outlays would drop from around 5% of gross national product on the following the product of the following the follow

Dratic as these cuts seem, Les Appin, chairman of the House Armed Service. Committee and hardly an enemy of the Pertiagon, argues that they respond only the downling of the Soviet menace that had occurred by the beginning of this source, after the 1989 anticommunist revolution. If a less that they respond the subsequent demise of the Warsaw Paet. The plans, says Aspin, do not take accounted the still more pronounced lessening of the threat that was occurred since the failed coup in the American Committee of the Committee of the

gust and the splintering of the Soviet Union that has followed.

Such thinking is likely to gain force in the wake of Gorbachev's Saturday response to Bush's nuclear initiatives. The Soviet President, who telephoned Bush at Camp David to give him a 20-minute preview of his proposals, followed the U.S. in taking strategic bombers off alert and moving their nuclear weapons into warehouses. Gorbachev also followed Bush in scrapping tactical nuclear missiles, land based as well as naval. In addition, he proposed negotiations to reduce the number of remaining strategic weapons by half, while at the same time announcing that from now on Soviet mobile missiles would be kept stationary. The Soviet leader further announced a oneyear moratorium on nuclear tests and called on others to follow suit.

Beyond that, the So-.8 viets are even more eager than the Democratic Party to switch massive resources from the defense establishment to the civilian economy. Deputy Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told a parliamentary committee last week that the armed forces might be cut almost in half, to 2 million to 2.5 million people, by 1994. His boss. Yevgeni Shaposhnikov, later said firm plans call for mustering out only 700,000 of the present roughly 4 million. But he added that "further cuts are not excluded depending on the military-political sit-

uation in the world"presumably meaning, in part, what the

U.S. does. The Bush Administration insists that the dwindling of the Soviet threat is being at least partly offset by a rising danger of more regional wars like the Persian Gulf conflict, fought against countries that are rapidly acquiring tanks, ballistic missiles, chemical weapons and other modern arms. Thus, it contends, the fairly drastic cuts it already has scheduled are the most that can be prudently made. That line might offset the Democrats' attack well enough to keep the odds heavily in favor of Bush's re-election. But even that will not end the debate-far from it. The serious questions about the size, structure and cost of the U.S. armed forces will not be solved during a year of heated partisan rhetoric. But they can-and should-be debated not only through Election Day but far beyond. - Reported by Michael Duffy

and Bruce van Voorst/Washinston

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The nominee put up a spirited, gutsy defense

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

The Case **Against Gates**

W hen he nominated Robert Gates to be director of Cen-tral Intelligence five months ago, President Bush said he was counting on the CIA to help America "maintain its role as the leader of the free world.

The phrase had an anachronistic ring, as though the very subject of the nation's spy agency caused Bush to slip back into the vocabulary of the cold war. That would be natural enough, After all, no American institution is more closely identified with the 40-year struggle to stop the spread of communism and Soviet influence around the world. Whether American agents were restoring the Shah of Iran to the Peacock Throne in the '50s, organizing an invasion of Cuba in the '60s, or applying the Reagan Doctrine in Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan in the '80s, their real target was the Soviet Union,

Now the U.S.S.R. is itself a Third World country, appealing for American largesse. The new chief of the foreign branch of the KGB. Yevgeni Primakov, even offered last week to engage in joint ventures with the CIA.

To justify its continued existence, the agency must both reduce and redirect its clandestine activities. Before retiring as director at the end of the summer, William Webster began shifting resources toward fighting terrorism, the narcotics trade, nuclear proliferation and other threats that loom large in the post-cold war era

In the past, it was the agency's directorate of operations that tended to draw public scrutiny and occasional dismay. For example, the last time television audiences were treated to a lengthy official probe of the CIA was in the mid-1970s, when committees on Capitol Hill exposed a variety of bizarre plots to "destabilize" pro-Moscow regimes and "terminate with ex-treme prejudice" leftists and revolutionaries. But even when American citizens objected to specific capers or methods, few challenged the need for covert action.

The Gates nomination has triggered a controversy that has

little to do with the sometimes ugly, even bloody, but necessary business that case officers transact in the back alleys of the world. At issue is the way bureaucrats behave toward one another at the home office in Langley, Va.

The agency's middle name is Intelligence, which Webster (Noah, not William) defines as "the faculty of understanding." A crucial task of a CIA analyst is to figure out what is happening in some corner of the globe so that if the President decides to dispatch American diplomats, aid officials, Marines or spooks, he will know what he, and they, are getting into, and what the consequences are likely to be.

Not even the estimated \$30 billion a year that the U.S. spends on intelligence can buy a crystal ball. Good analysts are purveyors not of predictions but of reality checks, of correctives to their superiors' prejudices, misperceptions or wishful thinking. That means working in an atmosphere of freewheeling discourse.

To an admirable and largely unappreciated degree, the CIA has managed to preserve a tradition of intellectual freedom. During the McCarthy period in the '50s, when red-baiting Congressmen were able to drum out of the State Department Foreign Service officers who were insufficiently passionate in their anticommunism, the agency used its special claim to secrecy to make itself a sanctuary for independent-minded experts.

It has always been an important part of the director's job to protect the agency, whether from congressional pressures to tailor the intelligence "product" to conform with political fashion or from leading questions intended to elicit answers that confirm the policy preferences of the White House

Testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a number of Gates' former colleagues have charged that as a senior official of the agency during the Reagan Administration, he corrupted the very essence of intelligence. They cited numerous instances in which they believed Gates leaned on analysts to stretch available evidence in support of several suspicions: that the Soviets were behind the 1981 assassination attempt on the Pope, that the Gorbachev reforms were merely a tactical retreat, and that the Kremlin had a master plan to deny the U.S. access to critical natural resources in Africa and elsewhere

The witnesses made a generally persuasive case that during the most ideological Administration in modern times. Gates was part of an agency leadership that enforced a kind of political cortness on the way information was assessed and presented.

Gates' supporters on the committee-all Republicans tried with more ingenuity than success to discredit the most damaging testimony. Gates then put up a spirited, gutsy defense of his own, earning respect from several Senators-all Democrats-who will still probably vote against his confirmation. At a press conference Friday, Bush joined the fray, denouncing the critics for having "accused this good man of the worst kind of sin" an analyst can commit. Bush then remarked pointedly that he should know, since he is not only "the ultimate consumer of intelligence but was once the principal producer as well.

Bush's reminder of his own tenure at the agency hardly clinches the debate over Gates. In 1976, when Bush was director, conservatives in Congress and in the Republican Party were savaging the CIA for supposedly underestimating the Soviet military menace. As a sop to the right and a demoralizing slap at the professionals on his own staff. Bush allowed a panel of outsiders, deliberately stacked with hard-liners, to secondguess the agency's findings. Not surprisingly, the result was a depiction of Soviet intentions and capabilities that seemed extreme at the time and looks ludicrous in retrospect.

If not a sin, that episode was certainly a lapse in Bush's stewardship of the intelligence process-and a precedent for the trouble that now afflicts his own nominee for the post. IMMIGRATION

Give Me Your Rich, Your Lucky . . .

In the most sweeping policy revision in 25 years, the U.S. will welcome increasing numbers of Europeans and well-heeled foreigners

By RICHARD LACAYO

u Wen-shuo, a Taiwanese student, will be finishing medical school next year at UCLA. After that, he would like to remain in the U.S. So would many foreign residents. But Wu has an edge: cash, and lots of it. Under one provision of the sweeping new immigration law that took effect last week, permanent residency can go to investors who put at least \$1 million-or half that in rural or depressed areas-into an American business that employs 10 or more workers. So. Wu, 22, is injecting \$1.1 million, which he got mostly from his family, into a new gas station and car wash in Chula Vista, Calit. David Liang, a San Diego real estate broker who led Wu to the investment, claims there are plenty of other prospective Americans ready to plunk down their money for a fast track to permanent residency, the major step toward citizenship. "This is only my first project," he says. "If it turns out well, I have 11 other people who would like me to help them get a business started here.

It may be time to expand the plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty that bears the famous lines by Emma Lazarus: "Give

me your tired, your poor, your huddled ! masses . . . "These days the call is also out for your skilled, your rich and your lucky. That change is the result of a law that went into effect this month, the Immigration Act of 1990, the most fundamental revision of immigration policy since the 1965 law, which opened the door to large numbers of non-Europeans. At a time when America is losing ground in the global economic competition, the new law represents a major shift in philosophy about who should get permanent residency, the "green card" status that makes immigrants eligible for full citizenship in five years. The old system stressed family reunification; 90% of slots went to the relatives of earlier arrivals. Now brainpower and purchasing power will also count.

Investor slots like the one that Wu hopes to fill—10,000 each year under the hopes to fill—10,000 each year under the new law—are only part of the story. The law also creates more openings for immigrants from Europe through a sw-called tolery that has thousands of applicants scrambling for a chance at legal residency. Other reforms will aimost triple. Irom 54,000 to 140,000, the number of skilled workers who can enter the U.S. legally

each year because American employers sponsor them. As a result, hustnesses and universities will have a greatly expanded chance to import professionals they cannot find at home. The growth of the U.S. labor force is expected to slow over the coming decade, which will make more room for skilled foreign workers—sepecially in each shortness. Bis engineering, mathematics, chemistry and physics.

The new policy brings the U.S. in line with other nations, like Canada and Australia, that have long been luring the best and the brightest. "Virtually every other country reviews its immigrant applications based on skills," says former Colorado Governor Richard Lamm, co-author of The Immigration Time Bomb, "We're the only country in the world that brings in whole generations of poor people every year." The Federal Government estimates that investor visas will generate \$10 billion over the next five years. That sum will only be raised if at least 3,000 investors enter the country each year. By mid-September, immigration officials had received only 100 preliminary applications. Some argue that the policy also threatens some cherished notions about



Brewing Up Some Business For Texas

Without the immigration reform bill, Belgian-born beermaker Plerre Cells, 66, 66, would probably never have launched his new brewery near Austin. By his extended, the client between the control of the property of the control of the

I the project lessup to Colic expections, he could be a model of how the nex law can help the U.S. economy. The plan is to use American ingredients to produce a Belgianstyle white beer that will compete with imported beers. Meanwhile, the city of Austin gets jobs, a potential tourst attraction and a local beer—something it has not that since 1878. Cells finds Texas peperaling, because it is well focated for people of the properties of the control of th

fairness. "The whole implication is that if you're poor and uneducated. America doesn't want you." complains Peter Schey, director of the Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law in Los Angeles.

That might be true if the poor were being excluded to make room for the privileged. In fact, the new law is accommodating both rich and poor by expanding the total pool of legal afiens, from more than 500,000 annually to 700,000 for each of the next three years. The impact on the ethnic makeup and economic level or new arrivals will be limited a arrivals will be limited as

first. In keeping with policies set in 1965, the great majority of newcomers will still be the relatives of people who are legal residents, regardless of their economic circumstances.

For European immigrants, whose numbers have fallen of sharply in recent years, the law represents a long-awaited shot at a vias. From 1955 to 1964, 50% off all new Americans came from Europe. By 1986, the figure was down to 8%, while 298 arrived from Asia and 56% from Canada. Mexico. Central America and the Carabbean. To avoid charges that whites are again being favored over Hispanics thicks and being favored over Hispanics thicks and should be supported to the state of the conbination of the state of the state of 446,000 to 520,000), while providing 40,000 visus in each of the first three years to mavisus in each of the first three years to ma-

HOW TO GET A GREEN CARD

tick law cross the combertor ammyrants from 500,000 to 700,000 ammony on the



tives of 34 countries, most of them in Europe, whose nationals had lost ground. They, in turn, will be able to petition for the entry of family members they left back

These visus will be distributed by an unusual method: the winners will be the first 44,000 qualifying people whose applications are received after multipli on Oct. 14 at a post-office box in Adington. Oct. 24 at a post-office box in Adington, verging on Artington to dump houseands of applications directly at the post office. About 40% of the slots are reserved for people from Ireland, which reflects not only the closul of Mussachusetts Senatur only the closul of Mussachusetts Senatur the problem posed by the presence of the manyas 100,000 flegal frish immigrants.

The visa lottery-it's been dubbed the Irish sweepstakes-has enterprising immigrants filling out hundreds of applications in the hope of improving their chances. Fears that revealing their names and addresses will make them vulnerable to arrest and deportation have been muted because the names are being collected by the State Department, not the immigration service, and because an earlier lottery of this kind did not result in sweeps.

In Boston and New York City bars, Irish hopefuls hand out hundreds of

applications to friends and ask their help in completing them, "I plan to fill out at least a thousand applications," said Joanne O'Connell, who was at Stephen's Green Pub in Queens, N.Y., last week, helping other Irish immigrants with their forms, "If's worth it."

Note content to wait another 25 years be fore it comes to terms with the question again. Congress has decided to review imingration quotas every three years. If the new hav really widens the American talent pool. a further shift in favor of the skilled and seculthy is likely. In addition to the peole with a dream of succeeding here. A merica wants the people who have already succeeded at home. — Reported by the Cray

Los Angeles and Moira M. O'Donnell and Andrea Sachs/New York

A Chance in the Irish Sweepstakes

When Fions McConnell, 24, came to the U.S. from Ireland five years ago, she had a one-year visa. Now she is an illegal alien. working as a nanny in New York City. Which is why she plans to travel this week to Arlington, Va., to mail her application for one of the visa slots set aside for Irish nationals under the new law. If she gets a green card, McConnell says, "I could go to school or get a better job." Given her present status. McConnell does not have health insurance. In an emergency she would have to depend upon the collections that are regularly taken up at Irish pubs around the city. Because of the danger of being identified at airport customs as an illegal alien, she has been back to Ireland only once since coming to the U.S. "When I went through Immigration at Kennedy Airport, I was shaking," she recalls. But as far as she's concerned, the hardships of the illegal life have been worth it. Says she: "America is a great country to be in.



Funny, it doesn't

The name is familiar. After all, this is a Honda.

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anywhere. Everything's rounded and feels right. Seats are firm where they should be and supportive all over. Controls are easy to see and reach. And overhead a power operated moonroof glides open or tilts up for fresh air ventilation.

And it's quieter in there. Windows fit more flush than ever for less wind noise. Fewer holes had to be cut into the body for mechanical cables to pass through because there are very few cables. Silent electric wires power the instruments.

And it's safer in there. The doors now have stronger internal bracing. New seat belt designs keep the belts tighter when necessary. You can adjust the position of the upper belt.

The new Civic Sedan has an airbag on the driver's side.



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The valves don't open as wide during normal driving at slower engine speeds. Which makes for more efficiency.

The whole process is called variable valve timing, usually reserved for very expensive luxury cars. Which puts it right at home in our new luxury car.

Except for one word. After all, this is a Civic.



CIVIL RIGHTS

Test Case for a Gay Cause

Pete Wilson vetoes an antibias bill, dashing hopes for new laws banning discrimination based on sexual orientation

By NANCY GIBBS

A mong the items hurled at California fowernor Pete Wilson last week were oranges (he caught one and threw it back), eggs and ugly epithets. "Liar! Coward! Shame! Shame!" cried the protesters at Stanford, where Wilson was delivering a speech marking the university's centennial. Surrounded by police in riot gear, he

nated against to seek penalties against employers through the state fair employment and housing department. The law current is applies to eticinis of bias on the grounds of race, gender, age or physical disability. ABI'UI would simply have added "sexual orientation" to the list. Businesses that employ tewer than five people would be exempt, as would religious organizations. But the legislation would have covered but the result of the control of the con

ABBII point out that similar laws have all delt or endless littgation in other states. In Wisconsin during the past 10 years, just our 930 cases have been tilled, or less than state. A California senate judiciary-comtities enalysis found that few of the state's 10,000 complains actually resulted in experises hearings of litigation. During each of the past three years, records show, the has decided (sever than 20 cases, and half of them came down in the employer's favor.

in Wilson's objections. Proponents of

The real reason for the veto had more to do with Wilson's political fortunes. The Governor has known for some time that he was in trouble with the G.O.P. right wing, which has been twitching over his decision last summer to raise taxes \$7 billion. Wilson's support of abortion rights opens him to charges of being against traditional family values. Also threatened is Senator John Seymour, whom Wilson appointed to take his seat when he was elected Governor last year. Seymour faces a tough challenge for re-election from conservative Republican William Dannemeyer, a strong opponent of gay rights. By vetoing the bill, Wilson may have hoped to steal some of Dannemeyer's thunder and appease the right wing in one stroke.

Some political analysts think Wilson may have his sights fixed on more distant horizons. If he were thinking, for instance, of running for President in 1996, he would need to carry conservative voters in the California primary. "You can't sign this bill and run for President in North Carolina of the C

But Sheldon and other conservatives were not won over. In his veto message, Wilson said he hated to give comfort to "the tiny minority of mean-spirited, gaybashing bigots," a characterization which served only to inflame the right wing. Some conservative leaders viewed Wilson's flipflop on the bill as a patent effort to placate their troops, and promised that they would go ahead and support Dannemeyer anyway as the true conservative. Some leaders of the gay-rights movement, meanwhile, promised a fire storm. Though moderate gay groups deplored such tactics, some radical activists threatened to "out" members of Wilson's staff, "We will haunt the Governor as long as it takes to get this bill passed," says Queer Nation member John Woods, "or until he's no longer Governor." So, in the end. Wilson loses on both counts: one side rejects his principles; the other questions his politics; and he winds up as the man in the middle, a lonely place in the politics of extremism. - Reported by D. Blake Hallanan/San Francisco, with other bureaus



Outraged activists, crying betrayal, burn the state flag during a protest in San Francisco

plunged through a I0-minute address, unheard by much of the audience of 4,000 over the catealls of 300 protesters from gay-rights groups like Oueer Nation and ACT UP. Over the clamor, Wilson offered the observation that "this is neither the time nor the place for fascist tactics."

It was a week of rage in California, as gas activities mashed windows in government buildings, torched the California flag and burned Wilson in effig. The Governar had betraged them, the protection determined the control of the control of the control of the toring ABID: a build esigned to protect homosexuals from job discrimination. Wilson, who wan his office with the help of gas support. had indicated in April that he would sign the legislation. But less week, after receiving 100,000 tentes from impact when the control of the control of the the build. See Changel this mind.

The legislation would have allowed gays who believe they have been discrimiWilson's veto sent a chill through civil rights activists across the country. Four other states—Hawaii, Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Connecticut—have passed broad antidiscrimination laws, and a national bill is pending before Congress. Gays had viewed California, as the country's most populous state and a leader in civil rights legislation, as a critical rest case.

more than 80% of the state's employees.

Though polls last week found that 62% of Californians wanted Wilson to sign the bill, he justified his decision on the grounds that it would unless lawavist saffe job creation and unduly burden businesses. Gays were already protected from discrimination, he said, under the privacy clause of the state constitution. Each year the department of fair employment and housing handles more than 10,000 complaints, roughly one-quarter of which end up in court.

But there was something disingenuous

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Anheuser Busch Inc

The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

Who Owes What to Whom?

aving babies is not Darlene Johnson's problem. Raising them is. Until recently, Johnson, 28, was in a California prison for having beaten two of her four children with a belt and an electric cord. What makes the Johnson case unusual is not the nature of her crime, which is all too common, but the choice offered her by the sentencing judge in Tulare County: the chance to cut her jail time if she agreed to the surgical implantation of Norplant, the new birth-control device that prevents conception for up to five years. That choice, which Johnson accepted and which many perceive as coercive, despite the case with which Norplant can be removed, highlights a growing national debate about the proper balance between competing interests: the desire to protect individual liberties while recognizing a citizen's obligations to the community, and society's interest in encouraging, and in some instances forcing, responsible behavior.

Bolstered by polls that show strong support for their proposals, legislators in several states have introduced bills that would require convicted female drug addicts to choose be-

tween Norplant and jail. "Reproductive freedom is an important right," says Kan-

sas state representative Kerry Patrick, "but a child's right to be born healthy is paramount over a woman's right to bear a drug-impaired baby. And we, the community, have a right to he spared unnecessary costs. Simply to provide welfare payments and education from kindergarten through the 12th grade for a healthy child costs \$205,000 in Kansas, a figure that climbs

astronomically if that kid is born drugged."

The same conflict arises in the controversy over testing spital patients for AIDS. Some people argue for mandatory testing; others insist that it be voluntary. But both groups seem concerned only with the patient's rights, "No one on either side wonders if the patient has a responsibility to his fellow human beings," says George Washington University sociologist Amitai Etzioni. "The language focuses almost exclusively on individual rights, which are quickly described as absolute and which are then disconnected from societal obligations.

To Etzioni and his followers, the question is how best to promote responsibility before imposing it. "In the end, free people are going to decide for themselves how to act," says Roger Conner of the American Alliance for Rights & Responsibilities, a bipartisan public-interest group. "How they feel about a duty that may be imposed on them is crucial. Way before something like Norplant is coerced, there has to be serious education and the widespread availability of birth control. If those conditions are met, there is a far greater possibility that both the individual and society will accept imposition. A regime that reaches for the penalty first is close to being a police state.

There is much to noodle here, and there soon may also be the opportunity to see if these issues can support a presiden-

tial campaign. The leading Democratic advocate of civic obligation is Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, who announced his candidacy last week. Beyond sharing the views of Etzioni and Conner, Clinton has actually succeeded in having some of the 'responsibilities" philosophy codified in law. For example, Arkansas parents who fail to attend parent-teacher conferences can be fined, and students who drop out of school are denied driver's licenses. "Not everything we do that is wrong is illegal," says Clinton. "The trick is to provide the incentives and disincentives that can curb such behavior."

In Clinton's mind, the driver's-license question is simple because driving is a privilege, not a right. "But there's even more to it," he says. "If you drop out of school, your earnings can be in free fall-that is if you're lucky enough to get a job in the first place. You end up dragging down the whole society. You cost us more than you contribute. So obviously we have the right to attach conditions designed to keep you in school."

Clinton acknowledges that some see parental fines as clashing with the right to public education, which he concedes is absolute. But, he observes, "everything has a context. It is clear that too many parents and students believe that all kids

cannot learn or that their ability to learn is more a function of genetic makeup than of how much effort you put in. I think both those nodoes to strengthen fam-

tions are wrong, so I believe anything society ily responsibilities and give schools the chance to teach is acceptable. And given that parents are an integral part of a child's education. I don't see anything at all wrong

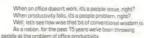
in fining them for failing to do their part." Many of Clinton's ideas, which include instituting a system

of national service that would oblige voungsters to perform various community-based tasks in exchange for college assistance, are viewed by liberal Democrats as neo-Republican. So his task is difficult. Clinton's views may well appeal to voters in a general election, but they will surely be less attractive to the more liberal electorate that has controlled the Democratic Party's nominating process for 20 years.

The politics aside, an activist like Clinton would be better placed than a conservative to push the "responsibilities" agenda. Most Republicans see government as "the problem"; their views are "trapped by their antitax and antigovernment rhetoric." says Conner. "When they talk about rights and responsibilities, the red flags go up. People see them as being demanding without being supportive, as wanting to take without being willing to give," On the flip side, adds Conner, in an analysis Clinton shares, "liberals are going to have to realize that the only way to generate public support for expanding the programs they see people needing is to accept linking that help to some very tough disincentives, and even coercion, for those who don't understand that along with government's help

come serious obligations. Exactly





Of the more than 116,000,000 Americans who are working today, almost 58% of them are white-collar office workers. And since 1976, the number of

OFFICES twitted the state of th

people who work in offices has grown twice as fast as other segments of the workforce.

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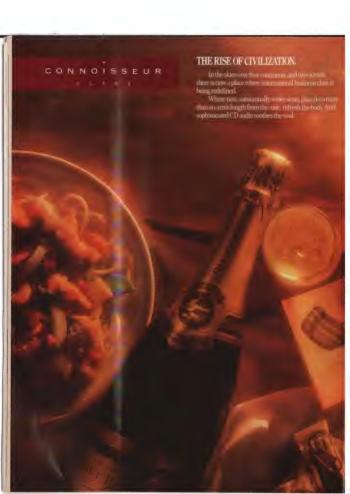
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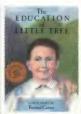


AMERICAN NOTES

PUBLISHING Little Tree, **Big Lies?**

The saga of Forrest Carter's book is a publisher's dream. The Education of Little Tree, a sensitive memoir of Carter's Native American childhood. was published in hard-cover in 1976 to little fanfare. Released in softcover by the University of New Mexico Press this year, the book now tops the New York Times paperback best-seller list, with 600,000 copies in print.

But is the book a hoax? Yes, says Dan T. Carter, a history professor at Emory University. In an op-ed page piece in the New York Times last week. Carter charged that the



Two lives: the best-selling author and the fiery white supremacist

was Asa Earl Carter, whom the radio announcer, home-grown

whites-only club," he says. In ling Society and the Black Stufact, 50% of the students who have signed up are Hispanic. Why the interest? The club will be teaching its members how to

American fascist and anti-Semite.

The allegation that the novelist and the racist were one and the same was swiftly disputed by the author's executor and Asa Earl Carter's brother Doug. The latter did acknowledge that Asa wrote speeches for Alabama's George Wallace, including the infamous lines "Segregation now. Segregation tomorrow. Segregation forever!" But old friends point out that Asa and Forrest Carter looked alike, used the same address and were the same

late Forrest Carter was not a professor describes as a "Ku age. Perhaps the book should Cherokee at all. Instead, he Klux Klan terrorist, right-wing be retitled *The Mysters of Little* Tree.

Not for Whites Only

EDUCATION

High schoolers traditionally sign up in the fall for activities like football, cheerleading and the school newspaper. But at racially diverse Anaheim High

School in Anaheim, Calif., students can now join the European-American Club, founded to promote "the educational and social advancement of the European-American student."

Principal Craig Haugen said he was skeptical at first, but was convinced the club's motives weren't racist. "It's not a fill out college applications. study for the SATS and join the military. None of the school's other ethnic clubs, such as the

Mexican American Engineer-

dents Union, offer such extensive services. Ramona Bejar, 17, who plans to join the Marines after graduation, has signed up. Says Beiar, who is Hispanic: "It isn't only white people who need to know how to fill out college forms. Everybody

CLASSICS Return of the Cravola Eight

A victory for crayon lovers of all ages

Since violet blue was retired 14 months ago, 300 crayon aficionados a month have been complaining to Crayola maker Binney & Smith. The Easton, Pa., company took eight traditional colored crayons off the

market and replaced them with such New Age hues as cerulean, dandelion and vivid tangerine. But protests from groups such as RUMPS

(the Raw Umber and Maize Preservation Society) have swaved the crayon giant. One million boxes of the Cravola Eight came back on the market last week.

"Kids just love the eight new colors, but Moms like the old eight we replaced." explained Richard Gurin, the company's president. "We decided, at least for now, they are both right." Declared Robert Pa-

gani, president of CRAYON (the Committee to Reestablish All Your Old Norms): "This is a great moral victory." And you thought the fall of the Berlin Wall was a milestone in history.

High-Caliber Reading

WEAPONS

What is the perfect gift for a high-caliber woman? Perhaps a subscription to Women & Guns. a new publication put out by the nonprofit Second Amend-

ment Foundation in Bellevue. Wash. Says Sonny Jones, editor of the female-staffed monthly: "I don't want to encourage women to buy guns but to promote training and education for those who already have them There would seem to

be a large potential audience. According to a 1988 Gallup poll, 15.6 million American women own a rifle. shotgun or handgun. The tatest issue includes feature stories on fashionable holster bags and how to choose a .38 Special revolver. Gun-control advocates, meanwhile, have gone ballistic about the new magazine. Says Susan Witmore of Handgun Control Inc. in Washington: "It is published by a gun lobby and designed to prey on the legitimate fears of women. saving, in effect, that their only protection is a gun."



Gunning for pistol-packing readers



One Coup Too Many



Haiti's soldiers fail to reckon with George Bush's determination to preserve—maybe even restore—democratically elected leaders

By BRUCE W. NELAN

ven if the world has not fully achieved a peaceful new order, its tolerance for political mugging is declining dramatically. A 28-nation coalition sent that message last February when it drove the Iraqi invaders out of Kuwait. Then thousands of Soviet citizens, supported by democratic countries around the globe, physically blocked the August takeover in Moscow.

Last week, after an old-fashioned coun ousted Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the entire western hemisphere focused its outrage on the brazen military

bosses in Port-au-Prince. The Americas were not prepared to let Haiti's military men get away with it. Their takeover, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said bluntly, "will not succeed.

This coup, which sent Haiti's first freely elected President into exile after eight months in office, was particularly galling to the U.S. and the Organization of American States. The OAS had concluded at a meeting in Chile only four months ago that all 34 of its members were now democracies. To protect their legitimate governments-some of them shaky -from possible overthrow by military plotters, the organization's foreign ministers were authorized to "adopt any measures deemed appropriate" to reverse future coups.

After rampaging Haitian soldiers opened fire on street crowds and threatened to kill Aristide, a 38-year-old priest, Venezuela's President Carlos Andrés Pérez sent a plane to fly him to safety. Pérez offered Aristide refuge in Caracas and said his country would be ready to take part in "the severest of actions" to re-establish a

In Washington. George Bush judged the Haitian coup a throwback to the violent old days and a violation of the rules he envisions for a new world order. "I'm very worried about it," he said. "Here's a whole

legitimate government in Haiti.

hemisphere that's moving the democratic way, and along comes Haiti now, overthrowing an elected government." When the old Stalinists made their power play in Moscow two months ago, Bush observed that "coups can fail." He intends to ensure the same outcome this time.

Bush ordered an immediate cutoff of the U.S. aid program for Haiti, which was to provide \$85 million in 1991 and \$90 million in 1992. The European Community followed suit, suspending a \$148 million aid package, and France, Japan and Cana-

aid package, and France, Japan and Canada halted bilateral programs totaling about 877 million. But Haitians living in the U.S. demanded stronger action, including armed

intervention to restore Aristide to the presidential palace. Rioters in Miami's "Little Haiti" built bonfires and threw bottles at police. In New York City, several thousand Haitians demnostrated outside U.N. headquarters.

Calls for armed intervention carried makers. Gunbau diplomacy was long Washington's way of dealing with Latin America. But it is part of the past Bash now wants to overcome. "I am disinclined to use America force," he said. "We've gota big history of American force in this hemisphere, and so we've got to be very careful about that."

After the Pentagon announced that it had sent a few handred Marines to Guantinamo Bay mail base in case the 15.000 American citizens in Haith had to be evacutated, spokesman Pete Williams quickly explained that it was only a precaution. The U.S. had "absolutely no interest" in using force, he said, and added, don't think we are going to have to curriout an executation."

Clashes between mutinous troops and Aristide's supporters had left as many as 100 dead in the first few hours of the coup, and Western diplomats believe the final death toll could be in the hundreds. The streets

turned quiet after bands of soldiers began patrolling in unmarked cars, their rifles protruding from the windows. Haitians mounted a de facto general strike even before Prime Minister Rene Préval, who is in hiding, sent out the call for one. "No one is going to work until Titid returns." a tast driver said, using Aristide's affectionate nickname.

Just what action would be required to reverse the coup was the question addressed by an emergency session of the OAS in Washington. Artistice flew to the U.S. capital and urged the hemisphere's seembled toreign ministers to clamp enough nonnilitary pressure on Hairi to adelegation to Port-aut-Prince to reld the army chiefs. Ied by Brigadier General Rasul Cedrus, an Artistide appointee. "that they must immediately leave the presidential palace" or face total isolation. For his part, Cedras claimed he had stepped in only to quiet rebellious troops in what had begun as a rank-and-file revolt.

Precisely how the coup got rolling is still unclear. In oldubit it had been unhappy with what it saw as Ariside's high-handedness. It had demanded that Cedras and other senior officers be continued by an other senior officers be continued by an other senior officers be continued by an other senior officers be deband a new 50-man presidential guard deband a new 50-man presidential produced by the continued of the contraction of the contrac

R. CODAL

Cedras: he claims he took over to end a bloody mutiny

Tontons Macoutes, who was jailed for a coup attempt last January.

In Port-au-Prince last week, there was scant evidence of who was in charge. The power vacuum was visible at military headquarters, where a handful of soldiers gazed at Cable News Network and a burly naval officer was watching Poltengeist II. He had no idea where Cedras or his sides might be.

At the Oas meeting in Washington, meanwhile, Secretary of State James Baker offered strong support for Aristide's proposals, "This junta is illegal," he said. "It has no standing in our democratic community, It will be treated as a pariah, without friends, without support,"

After a discussion that lasted well past midnight, the organization unanimously approved an 11-point resolution. It called on the member states not to recognize the military regime in Haiti and to cut off all economic, military, commercial and trade its with it. These sanctions add up to the total isolation of Haiti within the hemisphere, except for humanitarian aid shipments, mainly of food and medicine.

Economic sunctions, though often applied, only rarely force a determined rogue government to mend its wags. Hairi, however, r. admost without domestic resources. It is the poorest country in the hemisphere, and 60% off so million people are unemployed. Without all from abroad, its exptance of the properties of the properties of the in Port-au-Prince says the milliary leaders have "grabbed hat steel and they are going toget burned."

To explain the seriousness of the OSS decisions to the army leaders, a nine-member delegation headed by Secretary-General João Baena Soares at Brazil was dispatched to Port-au-Prince at week's end. If the junta does not back down, the organization has resolved to call another emergency meeting to plan further turns of the series.

Aristide went on to the United Nations in New York, where the Security Council listened to his appeal and gase him a standing oversion as he declared that the coup had "mar-deved democracy" in his country-vide him with a resolution of support, reasons members such as China and India have domestic problems of their own—Thete and Kashim; for example—and do not want to set a example—and do not want to set a what they consider internal afficies.

As part of the pressure on the Haitian junta, there is talk of a possible multilateral OAS military operation to put Aristide back in charge. The ousted Haitian President says he does not favor it, but some countries are not feeling constrained. Venezuelh apparently meant what it said about taking the "most severe measures," General Fernando Ochoa Antich, the

Venezuelan Defense Minister, announced after the OAS meeting that he had been ordered to prepare for possible multilateral action in Haiti. "The armed forces," he said, "are right now earrying out the planning of a possible regional military operation." President Pérez promised to offer his troops if the OAS decides to intervene.

While such warnings should increase the pressure on the Haitina may to back down, the western hemisphere's leaders hope they will not have to contemplate military action. The Oas has traditionally looked with horror on even the hint of intervention in its members' affairs. The fact that if is already acting more bodily than usual may well foreshadow the emergence of a new hemisphericorder.

Reported by Bernard Diederich/Port-au-Prince and Christopher Ogden/Washington

More Than **A Little Priest**

A charismatic firebrand. Aristide also proved to be a masterly politician

By AMY WILENTZ WASHINGTON

s deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide addressed the Organization of American States in Washington last week, the scene outside was reminiscent of the good old days in Port-au-Prince. Thousands of Haitians sang and danced and demonstrated on his behalf outside the white fortress-like building on Constitution Avenue. The atmosphere was heady, anticipatory. There were drums. "While he is trying to get justice in there, we are with him out here," said a Haitian protester, who waved a long red-and-blue banner that said it all, in simple terms: WE WANT ARISTIDE. In Haitian Creole they have begun to call him Msieu Mirak, or Mr. Miraele.

Back in Haiti, Mr. Miracle had been an



The exiled leader addressing the OAS

embattled figure, the tumultuous center of a brewing storm. After the Duvalier dynasty was overthrown in 1986, the slender but resilient priest slowly emerged as the embodiment of hope. Aristide's church was filled with the excitement that lit up Haiti's poor, its unemployed, its peasantry and most of all its youth, when he and other liberationists taught that there was a slim possibility for democratic change. When a band of hired thugs killed hun-

dreds of neasants in Haiti's northwestern province in July 1987. Aristide was there to denounce the massacre. Four months later, when paramilitary forces burned down a central market in Port-au-Prince. Aristide was there to excoriate the perpetrators and to raise money to rebuild the place. When one military dictator after another came to power promising democracy down the road. Aristide dismissed them, one after another, with an ironic Creole proverb and a blistering sermon. He never gave the least philosophical quarter to those he perceived as "roadblocks to the liberation of the Haitian people.

Aristide is a man of contradictions. Soft-spoken and relaxed in private, he is like a pillar of fire when he addresses the public. As a priest he spoke tirelessly against what he considered "sham" elections-then he became a candidate himself. In 1987 he thought the new, liberal Haitian constitution was a fancy-dress costume being worn by a brutal dictatorship; as President he learned to use it well. A longtime champion of human rights, he has been reticent until very recently about condemning mob violence.

Aristide came of age in the Roman Catholic Church in the 1970s, at a time when priests throughout Latin America were developing the concept of liberation theology. As a young seminarian in Haiti.

"I Am President of Haiti"

After addressing the OAS last week, deposed Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide met for 45 minutes in his Washington hotel suite with Time's Amy Wilentz, author of The Rainy Season: Haiti Since Duvalier. Excerpts from the interview:

Q. Do you believe you will be reinstated as President of Haiti? A. I have no doubt that, even in exile, I am President of Haiti,

and that I will be reinstalled in my rightful place, rightful because that is where the Haitian people want me to be-that is where they voted me to be ... and the world community is

Q. Why do you think Cedras moved against you?

simply reinforcing their will.

A. Cedras had an attack of power hunger. Indeed, the lust for power was already in his veins, because of his training in an institution that manufactures cookie-cutter generals, all hungry to take over the reins of government. I appointed him, I was his friend, and now he is a killer of my people.

Q. How would you describe your relationship with the military since taking office?

A. To dominate the beast of the Haitian army for seven months was no small thing for my government. It's like a lion in the circus. The trainer is there in the cage with the lion, and he tries to find every weak spot of the animal in order to maintain his control. But if he fights the lion with force and violence, the tamer will lose, because he does not have the same physical power. Therefore he has to use intelligence. Sometimes, though, the beast strikes at you for no reason.

Q. If you return, what will be the fate of those involved in the

A. There will be no reprisals; but we must have justice. Those who violate the constitution deserve to be tried and sentenced according to its articles.

Q. Did you fear for your life during the takeover?

A. I was not particularly afraid. After all, I have had a lot of experience with such things. I have come to consider it normal to live with death facing me.

Q. Do you favor U.S. intervention on your behalf?

A. I am not surprised that the U.S. has sent Marines to Guantanamo in order to be ready to protect the lives of its citizens living in Haiti. But the U.S. must also allow the OAS to follow its peaceful route. We are looking for ways to liberate the Haitian people, and military intervention is not one we even consider ... Military intervention also raises ugly memories in Haiti, and we cannot exist if we forget our history. Neither U.S. officials nor Haitian officials support intervention.

The strategy of the Haitian people is more peaceful: we are looking toward economic boycotts, diplomatic boycotts.



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however, he was known more as a biblicat scholar than a febrand. But when he returned in 1981 after studying abroad, he was nonplussed by the powerty of the faitian people. "I had been away for smuring," and so my eyes were reopened to the sugular and misery." Ordinied in 1982. Artistide became a liberationist and soon tound himself in conflet with the conservative bibliops. In 1988 he was outself from hisreligious order for preaching politics.

is outspokenness earned him little favor with the military dictorships under which he preached. The armed forces were involved in at least two violent attempts on Aristide's life. From these attacks, and from others where the military was not openly involved. Aristide emerged virtually unscathed. Mr. Miracle.

colling as prises followed him through his short but memorable candidae, in Hantifirst free and fail presidential elections. Ariside called his movement Luruka, which in Creole means flood or avalanche, and Haitlans flooded around him in waves as he made whis to every current of his country. Running against a former leader of the Duradies repressive Tontom Maford the Country and the Country and the dates. Ariside turned a lack baster election into coolering foundations.

His landslide victory came as a slap in the face to certain sectors of Hattian socieety. The army was concerned, since Aristide had never made deals with the military in the tradition of most Hattian presidential candidates. The economic elite was worried because they had been telling each other for years that "that filter prise" was a commutation of the control of the tradition of the control of the control of the tradition of the control of the control of the tradition of the control of the control of the tradition of the control of the tradition of the control of

Bit typically, the man of cuntralicious Bit typically, the man of cuntralicious Bit typically, the man of cuntralicious Considered C

Although the negotiations for Aristicles lifewhile he wais in milliary custody last week were touch and go, Hairian-were out surprised altha the escaped unscathed, and the state of the state of the state of the form the state of the state of the state of the cent place he is distinctly protected, by either Christian powers or the powers of the state of the state of the state of the Hairian rodan. Hairi man, in the state against feer. In Hairi man, in the state dums, in the blonded topopiats, behind stams, in the blonded topopiats, behind care waiting for Mr. Miraele to return. GERMANY

The Fires of Hatred

Neo-Nazis and right-wing extremists create political unease by launching a spate of anti-foreigner attacks

By DANIEL BENJAMIN DRESDEN

Germany celebrated the first anniversal by of unification last week, but the day will be remembered more for the fires that burned across the country, that for the holiday fireworks. On the Battic siland of Region, right-wing settermists razed a center for asylum seekers. In the northern city of Bremza, a historie for foreigners was fire-bombed. Shelters were also torched in Otteman, a based for foreigners was fire-bombed. Shelters were also torched in Disseld-off in the northwest and in Disseld-off in the northwest, where two Lebonese does not be a simple control of the northwest, where two Lebonese for the northwest, where two Lebonese for the northwest of the northwest of the northwest of the northwest was the northwest of t

It was the worst spaem of natioist violence since the days of Andel Filter, bringing, the number of attacks to nearly 488 since the beginning of the year. With a record 220,180 asytum seekers expected by year's end, even more clashes seen tikely. While the latest wave of seen phototeents originated in the formerly communist east, anti-foreigner sentiment is being demonstrated throughout the country.

Last week the issue weighed heavily in state elections in Bremen: in a contest that was widely considered a referendum on immigration, the Social Democrats, long identified with liberal asylum policies, saw their total plunge from 51% to 39%, while two right-wing extremist parties culled a hefts 8% of the vote.

For several reasons, animosity against foreigners should be declining—especially in eastern Germany. Not only are the east's living standards higher than ever, and rising, but there are fewer foreigners there move than before unification. Despite the inflax of people seeking asylum, the east seeking the seeking asylum, the east seeking for the seeking for the foreigners and statement of the seeking from the communist block and the Third World, and the number of foreigners in the region has fallen below. 30,000. Nonetheless, with unemployment and unconstitution of the seeking for the seeking and reals more than quadrupling, many Germans see asylum seekers as a threat to economic security.

The most recent spate of attacks appears to have been prompted by a skinhead victory over the authorities; two weeks ago in the Saxon town of Hoyerswerda. 25 miles from the Poish border, the state government relocated 230 foreigners whose building had been subjected to a six-day been supported by the property of small victories elsewhere has emboldened neo-Nazis and skinheads throughout Germany.

Bonn's reaction has not hôped much. Chancellor Helmut Kohi's Christian Democrats scized on the attacks to push for a constitutional amendment curining. Germany's liberal provisions for asylum. But some critics say that by harping on the constitution instead of cracking down on the talkeds. the Cut bis encouraged the skinheads. Others complain that the Cut's are suggesting more foreigners mean more sixticities. The cut described in the cutorice. However deserved the criticism was, the debate was not making Germany was. the debate was not making Germany and er in foreigners. — With searching by Rhos and early the cut of the cut of the cut of the state of the cut of the cut of the state of state state of state state



in Bayreuth, skinheads march in memory of Nazi leader Rudolf Hess





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SOVIET UNION

The Rebirth of St. Petersburg

Peter the Great's erstwhile capital is hoping once again to be Russia's window to the West

By JAMES CARNEY ST. PETERSBURG

On a warm fall evening, pedestrians jam the wide sidewalks of the city's nain avenue, Nevsky Prospekt. They bustle by a young couple absorbed in a passionate kiss, and glance, if only briefly, at a marquee announcing a new American B movie. But at a wall plastered with advertisements and political manifestors.

ments and political manifestors, a few stop to listen as members of a small crowd argue the merities of removing Valdmir Lenis, tool removing Valdmir Lenis, too from the manifestory of the medical content of the manifestory of the Manifestor

The metropolis that is famed as the cradle of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution is throwing off its communist legacy with a vengeance. Known for 67 years as Leningrad, Russia's second largest city last week officially became historic St. Petersburg again. The name change is largely symbolic. Statues of Lenin still loom over city parks and cast long shadows in front of train stations. The city council, mindful of budget constraints, has decided not to spend any money on new road signs or stationery. But the rechristening reflects a deeper transformation that optimists say has affected many of the city's 5 million residents. "On changed in the way we live," ex-

plains Sergei Fyodorov, a taxi driver. "But the people in this city have changed. The change is in our souls. We feel free at last."

Led by Major Antately Sokbehak, a broot of the resistance to August's shorted hard-line coup, reformers in the city are trying to Jun St. Petershung out of Moscow's agreement was and transform it into a gateway to the West, Some even suggest returning the political capital to St. Petersburg, though Sokhethak says his talk is "to review \$t. Petersburg as the financial, cultural and sel-milite capital of Boxsia." For a precedent. Sokehak turns to the city's founder, Peter the Great, the Cary who set out to western-

ize the backward Russian Empire. "For III years Peter the Great ried to carry out reforms in Muscow, but nothing came of it." Sobchak says. "Then he moved to the banks of the Neva River, founded a capital here and achieved his reforms. And so now we have the chance to repeat Peter the Great's experiment."

Peter's efforts date back to 1703, when



the surface, nothing has Along bustling Nevsky Prospekt, citizens go about their business

he began building his city from the miasmic swamps of the Nex River. He wanted to open "a window on Europe," a point of entry for the flow of Western ideas into his isolated empire. The reformist Czar hired Italian architects to design a modern European capital with intersecting avenues lined by stately homes and grand palaces.

But St. Petersburg's architectural charm and rich history will do little to diminish the formidable obstacles confronting Sobchak as he tries to reform the city's economy. His advisers are working on plans to create a "free economic zone" around the city by Jan. 1, in the hope that

lower tases, and fewer customs barriers will be course for firely banks and companies to invest 8.0 fig. Moscow is going along with the idea. But even Anatoly Chubias. Sobohak schiel counties advise, admits that free economies adviser, admits that free economies adviser, admits that free economies continues of the control of the contr

St. Petersburg will also be a testing ground for the conversion of Soviet factories from military to civilian production, since 70% of the city's industries work on military orders. Though some critics ac-

cuse the mayor of cozying up to the military-industrial complex. Chubais argues that the abundance of enterprises producing high-tech equipment such as satellites and communications systems gives the city an edge in attracting foreign capital. But Western firms may be reluctant to make investments in a requbilic as unstable as Russia. If so, be rocked by massive unemployment as Muscow trims or-deres for military hardware.

A persuasive speaker who counts John F. Kennedy and Charles de Gaulle among his role models. Sobchak, 53, is one of the most influential politicians in Russia, behind only Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachey and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Yet conservative and liberal opponents alike accuse him of resorting to authoritarianism in running the affairs of St. Petersburg, "God never gave Anatoly Sobchak the talent to work with other people," wrote one critic. Sobchak, a former law professor, dismisses the accusations as the grumblings of "incompetents" on the unwieldy, 382-member city council. Thanks to his national status, Sobchak says, he is "much more successful in

solving the problems of the city

than any of my would be successors. If all goes with Sobehak is commic reform plans. Chubisis predictes a rise in the standard of living in the city by the end of 1992. The question is whether Sr. Peters would have been a subject to the properties of the propertie

among the great cities of Europe.

WORLD NOTES



In Vukovar, a Franciscan priest inspects the rubble

VUGOSI AVIA

Another Day, Another Truce

The fragile truce-the sixth in just three months-held only nine days. Last week the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army, charging that Croatia had violated the cease-fire, launched a new offensive aimed at crushing resistance in the rebel republic. The main targets of the onslaught were the key Croatian towns of Vukovar, Vinkovei and Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia's best-known tourist attraction on the Adriatic coast. As warships blockaded the port city. air-force jets bombed and strafed it, while artillery pounded the area, leaving Dubrovnik without electricity and water. At week's end the leaders of

Serbia and Croatia agreed on the outlines of yet another truce, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and federal Defense Minister Veliko Kadijevic agreed to call off the offensive, while Croatian President Franjo Tudjman pledged to lift blockades around federal army bases. Both sides also pledged to discuss new political arrangements for the protection of minorities. But the news produced no immediate break in the fighting, raising tears that the atavistic struggle might be beyond diplomatic solution.

EL SALVADOR Killers or

Fall Guys?

Who ordered the killings of six Jesuit priests and two women that rocked El Salvador in 1989? And who participated in the subsequent cover-up? Although a Salvadoran court last week held two army officers responsible for the murders and acquitted seven lower-ranking soldiers, the answers to those questions may never be resolved. With the government under U.S. pressure to punish the perpetrators, the convictions of a colonel and a lieutenant capped a 20-month investi-

gation and three-day trial. But suspicions linger that the two officers may be fall guys for higher-ranking officers who plotted the predawn massacre

The jury's decision to conviet military officers for politically motivated murders is a first for El Salvador. But the country's justice system remains shaky. The identities of the five jury members were kept secret to safeguard them against possible retribution. And the presiding judge plans to leave the country after the sentencing next month. As for the convicted felons, their time behind bars may be short: President Alfredo Cristiani has not ruled out a possible amnesty.



In San Salvador, the defendants listen as the verdict is read

SOVIET UNION Moscow's New Spymaster

The most dreaded institution in the country, the KGB security service, is being whittled down

to manageable size. Its former chairman. coup plotter Vladimir Kryuchkov, is in prison, and its 230,000 uniformed troops have been transferred to the regular armed

Last week Presi- Primakov dent Mikhail Gorba-

they took yet another thop at the monster. He appointed his close adviser Yevgeni Primakov to head the foreign intelligence division, which will become a separate organization.

Primakov, an Arabist and a member of the Academy of Sciences, is the first civilian to head the KGB's spy network. He vows to civilize intelligence gathering and make it "scientific." The days of "people in gray coats standing on corners,

says, will be replaced by a focus on fighting terrorism, the drug traffic and the proliferation of nuclear weapons

"Where it is possible," says Primakov, he will try for glasnost and international cooperation.

But spooks will still be spooks. Primakov does not plan a major purge of his espionage operatives, and they are likely to keep working secretly out of Soviet

Going, Going ... Gone

Cut the strings of a puppet, and it falls down. That is what happened last week to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Noboru Takeshita, the leader of the dominant faction within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, severed the political cords that have propped up Kaifu for

embassies around the world.

The lame-duck Prime Minister

two years. Kaifu realized he had lost his standing within the party. Rather than face humiliation in the Oct. 27 party elections that will select the next Prime Minister, he announced that he would not run.

Kaifu's political collapse followed a week of legislative maneuvering that dramatized his inability to corral party support. A set of political-reform bills was killed in the Diet at the committee level. Kaifu erupted

in anger and hinted that he might dissolve the assembly. It was an empty threat that cost Kaifu what little party respect he enjoyed.

Now the contest for the Prime Minister's job is wide open. The three contenders who had already lined up to challenge Kaifu see their positions strengthened. Within the Takeshita faction, politicians are scrambling frantically for the nomination.



Business

Special Report: America's Run-Down Economy

A Slump That Won't Go Away

Thanks to the borrow-and-spend binge of the '80s, the U.S. remains burdened with problems that will frustrate growth for years to come

By JOHN GREENWALD

n the afterglow of the allied victory in the gulf war last spring, the U.S. economy seemed ready to shake off its malaise. Consumer confidence rose sharply, and sales of cars and homes began to shift into high gear. But in the clear light of autumn, that hopeful moment seems long gone. Despite assertions from Washington and most economists that the recession ended last May, the recovery may be the weakest in postwar history, and many sectors could even be sliding backward. "The situation is far worse than the gov-

ernment would like us to believe, and | the overburdened economy is undergoing things are going to remain this difficult for some time," says Bernard Brennan, chairman of Montgomery Ward. "I think we're naive to assume that we're out of the recession. It's even probable that the next phase could be worse than the first.

That gloomy assessment reflects one of the great ironies of current events. At the moment when democracy and free enterprise have triumphed over communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the U.S. is paying the price of capitalism run amuck. Maimed by the prodigious explosion of debt that characterized the 1980s.

a painful consolidation and a shift in values away from the fast-money, speculative practices that came at the expense of financial soundness and long-term growth

The '80s left behind structural burdens that are likely to rob the U.S. of robust growth for several years. Among them: record federal deficits (the past fiscal year: \$285 billion) and an orgy of overbuilding that has sent the commercial real estate industry into an out-and-out depression. The glut of empty office towers could take a decade or more to pare down. Beset by the speculative hangover, the economy has ex-



panded just 2.6% from 1989 through mid-1991. Economists predict that the economy will bump along at a sluggish pace of less than 3% a year through 1995.

The fallout from the '80s has given consumers, who account for two-thirds of all spending, an abiding fear of being laid off as companies retrench for lean times. Since the recession began in July 1990, more than 1.6 million jobs have been lost. The Labor Department reported last week that the unemployment rate in September slipped a notch, to 6.7% from 6.8% the previous month. While President Bush hailed the movement as "one more sign that the economy is strengthening," many economists and investors saw little to cheer. Among other grim signs, the labor statistics showed that the number of discouraged workers, those who have quit looking for jobs and are no longer counted among the unemployed, had risen by 100,000 in the third quarter, to 1.1 million. "The economy is going nowhere fast. There is some recovery, but still lots of flatness and recession," said Allen Sinai, chief economist at the Boston Co.

The unemployment report came two days after American Express said it would lay off 1,700 workers and take a \$265 million write-off because of rising defaults among holders of its new Optima credit card. Ames Department Stores, meanwhile, said it would close 77 of its 448 stores and lay off about 4,500 employees cartly next year.

Spending is caught in what might be

called a lending gridlock, Bankers, many of them saddled with bad loams and hampered by overzealous regulation, have been unwilling to lend. But even when they do make money available, many overleveraged consumers and companies are reductant to borrow more. "You are not sognig to have a robust recovery until both going to have a robust recovery until both going to have a robust recovery until both going to have a robust recovery until both their balance sheets are through making their balance sheets are through their joint and their control of fixed policy and joint and their control of fixed policy and joint and their control of fixed policy and seas at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington think tank.

The economy's few bright spots are filekering at best. Bouved by exports of capital goods, some manufacturers have been adding global as a time when most other industries have been cutting back. But the government reported last week that orders for U.S. factory goods tumbled U.S. in August following a strong increase in July. If manufacturing failters, the last best hope will be housing, which has benefited from a drop in fixed-rate more against the commerce Department of the commerce of t

Burdened by the runaway federal deficit, Washington cannot cut laxes or increase spending to stimulate business growth, as it did in every other major downturn since World War II, Nor has the Federal Reserve Board's actions to lower interest rates provided much of a lift outside the housing market, even though the prime rate has fallen from IIO.5% tway years. ago to 8% today. With inflation now down to a modest 2.7%, the Fed last week reportedly gave Chairman Alan Greenspan approval to reduce interest rates even further if he deems it necessary to bolster the

One reason this recession has so profoundly hampered spending is that the middle class has been hard hit. Nearly 600,000 of the lost jobs belonged to middle managers and other white-collar workers as companies slashed their payrolls because of slow sales, crushing interest charges and tough foreign competition.

"There is no historical precedent for his," says Dan Lacey, an Ohio-based employment consultant. "This does not represent a recession," he says of the downstring, "but a permanent shirt in management thinking that is both structural and produced the consultant of the consultant of the consultant of the consultant of the contraction of the consultant of the contraction of the consultant of the contraction of the co

"Shell-shocked consumers have plenty or shell-shocked consumers have plenty or shell-shocked consumers have plenty the plenty of the plenty of

Business

tion, taxes will absorb a record 35.1% of Americans' income in 1991, up from 34,1% the previous year

Yet the new levies seem unable to ease urban woes. In a survey last week of 62 members of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, 58% believed the economy's current problems were harming their communities more than the severe 1981-82 recession

A combination of fear, prudence and even trendiness has turned American consumers into chronic stay-at-homes. "This recession has become a state of exhaustion from the delusions of the 1980s," says Audrey Freedman, a management counselor for the Manhattan-based Conference Board, "There is a general public turning away from confidence in government, the private sector and enterprise itself. We're

Not everyone is worn out, of course, Foreign demand for U.S. products, spurred by the strength of foreign currencies in relation to the weak dollar, has created a boomlet for some manufacturing firms. "If we didn't read about it in the newspapers, we wouldn't know a recession has been going on," says George Schueppert, chief financial officer of CBI Industries, an energyequipment company that has totted up \$1.5 billion worth of new orders this year, largely from Asia and Latin America. But merchandise exports amount to just 7% of American GNP and can scarcely drag the economy out of the doldrums single-handedly. Moreover, the manufacturing boom could quickly go bust if nervous domestic consumers don't start opening their wallets

we industries have been whipsawed by stop-and-go shopping as severely as U.S. automakers. Despite a surge in July, their sales for the model year that ended in September totaled just 12.5 million units, the lowest level since 1983. With domestic auto plants now running at an average of just 65% of capacity, Detroit claims that no carmakers-not even the Japanese-arc operating profitably in the U.S.

Fickle buying habits have left executives scratching their heads. "There is this very erratic pattern," notes Harold Poling, chairman of Ford, whose restyled Ford Taurus and Mercury Sable models have been slow to roll off new-car lots. "Dealers will have a positive week, then one when nothing happens. It looks like a long, drawn-out and weak time ahead."

That will be the painful consequence of the heedless and high-flying '80s. "We live in the box we've got ourselves in," says Lyle Gramley, chief economist for the Mortgage Bankers Association of America and a former Fed governor. "We are paying the price for what we did in the past with this enormous federal deficit. The price goes beyond the poor functioning of the economy now. Here we are, this great, wealthy, affluent nation, and we cannot afford to rebuild our highways or bridges. We cannot afford to have a really serious war on drugs. We cannot afford to improve our educational system. This is absurd.

Reinvigorating the economy will require substantial new investments in all the areas that Gramley mentions. That has already triggered a politically volatile debate about shifting funds from defense to education and other programs to foster longterm growth. But having triumphantly demonstrated the power of capitalism to doubters abroad, the U.S., ironically, now faces the test of showing that the American brand of private enterprise can still solve problems at home. Reported by Bernard Baumohi/Los Angeles, Gisela Bolte/Washington

and William McWhirter/Detroit

If Rates Are Falling, Why Don't These?

s interest rates fall, consumers are looking with puzzle-A ment and anger at the carrying charges on their creditcard balances. Why have those rates refused to budge? The spread between what banks pay to borrow money and the interest rates they charge on credit cards has grown to nearly 14 percentage points, the widest gap since the deregulation of interest rates in 1982. The chasm has attracted both public scorn and scrutiny. Declares Stephen Brobeck, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America: "Consumers are being gouged by the banks.

Last month the Federal Reserve reduced the rate it charges banks for loans by 0.5% to 5% the lowest in 18 years. For many horrowers, especially the big ones, falling rates have been a windfall. In the past 12 months, the prime rate, which is what banks charge their best corporate customers, has declined 2 full percentage points, to 8%. Many consumers have benefited too. Mortgage rates, down 1.4 points from last year, have dropped below 9% for the first time in 14 years. Rates on newcar loans have fallen less, about 1 point, to an average of 11.5%.

But the cost of personal credit defies gravity. In the past year, the average rate on unsecured personal loans has fallen only one-third of a point, to 17.1%. And the rate on credit cards has actually edged unward one-fifth of a point, to an average 18.9%. Since 1988, the rate has increased nearly a full percentage point. Many consumer groups and financial analysts contend that banks are keeping rates high to help offset loan losses in such other businesses as real estate and leveraged buyouts. Credit cards are the most profitable line of business for most banks, earning three to five times as much as other activities despite rising cardholder delinquencies and bankrupteies.

Bankers, who have grown prickly about the issue, contend that the high charges help pay for the many services offered with credit cards. including 24-hour help lines and travel insurance. What banks pay to borrow money accounts for only one-third of their credit-card costs, according to Philip Corwin, director of retail banking at the American Bankers Association. If a bank is charging 18%, says Corwin, about 15 percentage points go

toward covering costs; the rest is profit. This week the House Banking Committee will hold a hearing on the issue, prompted in part by two bills that have been introduced to strengthen cardholder rights. One proposal would let consumers pay off their account balances under the original rate any time rates are raised. Another would extend the grace period between the time of purchases and the application of finance charges. -By Thomas McCarroll





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My Favorite Place

LAUN DENVER'S CALTU IN THE ENVIRONMENT

Dedicated to world peace and a better quality of life for all people, Denver's lyrics and songs show concern for the environment. t is difficult for me to identify only one favorite place on Earth. There are so many places in the world that I truly enjoy. I'd like to share a few of them with you.

Any time I can spend in the desert, especially springtime, is a powerful teacher for me. I am reminded of nature's resilience and magic when am in the desert. For most of the year, the land is dry and vegetation is sparse, but when I see how water works its magic in the desert landscape, I am filled with wonder.

Water is scarce and precious. Thankfully, sometimes there is enough rain in early spring to bring the desert floor to life with color. The parched land changes and becomes blanketed with life in subtle shades of green, purple and blue. The stately sugaror cactus stands proudly, crowned in glistering white flowers. The prickly pear and cholla bloom in glorious yellows and vibrant pinks.

It is a flower of faith to me when I see a blossom in the desert. I pause and am enriched by its strength and vulnerability. At these times, nature reminds me what it means to be vital and alive.

I feel most at home in the mounnians. There is a place in Golorado, in a seven-mile box canyon that, to this day, remains the most beautiful place I have ever hiked in the world. In this area, there is a small alpine lake I remember fondly, it is where I first began to write the song-"Rocky Mountain High." It was on a magnificent night in August of



SPECIAL ADVERTISING SECTION

1971, during a stunningly memorable with Perseid meteor shower.

All the seasons in the Colorado high country inspire me. In summer, when the columbine and fems are nestled in moist earth at the feet of aspen trees. I feel renewed. After the first snowfall it looks like there is powdered sugar on the mountaintops. The pristine white is so beautiful against autumns deep blue sikes, the golden aspens and dark evergeens.

Winter's pure-white snowscape against the skies is breathtaking. My favorite color is that special blue of the winter sky that can only be seen at high altitudes. The winter also brings us the wonder of rainbows when the rays of the rising sun dance on ice crystals.

As I think of these and so many other special places, my heart turns to Alaska. It embodies everything that nature means to me. Alaska is the wildest place I know of on this Earth.

There is wisdom in nature's untamed power

I have clear images of the times I have spent in the land of the midnight sun. I can still see the rich colors of twilight and the lasting dawn light of the summer hours. My whole

being remembers the golden intensity of a wolf's eyes. I find myself without adequate words for deep or title raw power of the massive polar bear and the grizzly.

The grizzly is a master at fishing. In fact, the grizzly is a master at catching, which is more than I can say for myself, even though you can count on catching something, since nature provides in abundance.

In Alaska's wildness, there is a pre-

cious legacy — a vital key to continuing life on this planet.

Alaska epitomizes our environmental challenge: How do we find a balance between people and nature? In Alaska, we see the need to conserve and protect our greatest natural treasures exen to the extent that we may have to

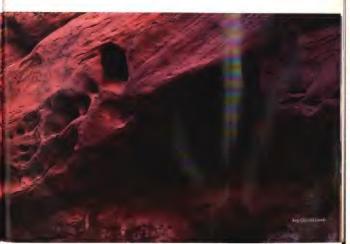
> sacrifice some of the technology the human mind has given us. To completely control the untamed part of nature is to irreparably damage ourselves as humans.

While wild places are precious, there are other natural places that give us a

special connection to the living world. Neighborhood parks, window boxes in cities and flowering backyards — any place that brings us in touch with nature is special and to be cherished.

Any place.





My Favorite Place

OLIVIA NEWTON-JOHN'S TRIP TO ALASKA

As Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Environment Program, singer Newton-John encourages people to save the environment. I discovered Alaska when my husband, an avid outdoorsman, and I headed out with two close friends to this beautiful, pristine land.

My first impression of Alaska is still with me. I remember the incredible smell of pine; it was heady and overwhelming. We were so taken with this scent that we pressed fresh pine needles and cones into our luggage to take home to our children.

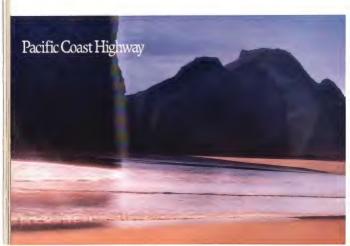
When we arrived near Ketchikan, which is considered a busy tourist area, we began to feel revived after our journcy from the mainland. There were no real signs of people about, and as we gazed at the exquisite sunser that night the skies nurtured our citified souls.

In the morning, we hopped abound a small scapline and flew to Naha Bay. From above we saw lates in the tops of the cratees, and waterfalls and greenery like I had never seen! The sky was filled with seabirds, their crices so loud with seabirds, their crices so loud we could hardly hear orusefves speak. We landed on a shimmering, clear blue lake, and our pilot pointed us in the direction of the trail data would lead us to our destination.

The first signpost we came to had bear-claw marks on it. 'There's a bear close, be careful,' warned our guide, provoking a lot of nervous laughter.

Wildlife thrives in this fertile terrain

I remember everything so vividly; my senses were perfectly alert and attuned with nature. We walked down a very narrow and winding trail that took



AMERICA'S FAVORITE PLACES

SPECIAL ADVERTISING SECTION

us near a waterfall where three black bears were catching spawning salmon with their paws and mouths. We watched them lumber back to their caves, returning again and again to the water to find food. They noticed us watching them as they fattened up for the winter but seemed unperturbed by our presence.

We watched the salmon swim upstream. The sight was primitive and beautiful, vet sad because many couldn't make it to the top of the stream. There, the salmon lay in pairs in ponds where they laid their eggs, thousands of them in perfect symmetry. As we headed back to the plane, a porcupine shuffled across our path.

That night we sat around a campfire on an isolated, sandy white beach and beheld one of the most incredible phenomena in the world. As we sat singing songs in the crisp, star-filled night, the

northern lights danced across the sky. I was once again reminded of nature's power and beauty. I knew tomorrow would be another glorious day

We spent several more days in Alaska at a remote fishing retreat.

where we bathed in natural sulfur springs. Young dall porpoises, with their faces in a permanent smile, raced to play with us in the wake of our fishing boat. We saw schools of killer whales, and on the shores of the bay stood timber

Looking back. I'll never forget seeing a hald eagle for the first time. We took photos of this magnificent specimen. He swept across the ravine, his call cutting to my very core. How unfortunate that these birds have been driven, poached and hunted almost to extinction in most of the United States. What a

blessing it is that they are protected and thriving in Alaska.

During my time in Alaska. many people approached me with their environmental concerns. Alaskans are fiercely proud of their home but are los-

ing the battle against the consequences of mining and deforestation. When the trees are out down, the natural shade that protects the spawning grounds of the salmon is lost, and their eggs are killed by the heat, threatening the balance of nature as well as the vital fishing industry.

Seeing Alaska's plight only reinforced my desire to help save the pristine areas of the world, which are becoming so few and far between.

My way of doing this is to encourage everyone to encounter and embrace Mother Earth. For once you do, you will feel, as her children, the desire to proteet her.



My Favorite Place

OLICE DIAVE C PROUTIES EVERSIENCE

A wilderness ranger for 33 years, Blake founded Tread Lightly, an education program that teaches us responsible use of America's wild lands. have spent many mornings high atop the mountains of Wyonings Bridger-Teton National Forest along the Continental Divide. At daybreak. I have stood in awe watching the sun come up over the horazon—lighting up the world and welcoming the day. Mornings in the wilderness are always beautiful.

Deep within the Bridger wilderness, there are about 500 miles of hiking trails for those who want to backpack on foot or go on horeseback into some of America's most spectacular mountain settings. More than 1,500 lakes stand out as sparkling jewels within the alpine land-

scape. I have seen most of them, but I do have my favorites.

There are two emerald lakes, the Green River lakes, that lie at the northermost entry point to the Bridger wild lands. Behind them you can't miss Squaretop Mountain, rising nearly 12,000 feet high, reaching up to the sky to form an unforgetable majestic profile.

Life's different in the backcountry

Early one morning, while camping in the wilderness, I woke up to the juggle of the hells around our horses' necks. Suddenly, I realized the sound of the bells was fading into the distance: That meant only one thing—our horses were leaving earny and heading back home to Willow Creek Guard Station. They were either in search of more food of booking.



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Hyundai. Yes, Hyundai.

COVER STORIES

A Screen Gem **Turns Director**

A movie moppet at nine, Jodie Foster went on to become one of Hollywood's most talented actresses. Now, at 28, she has taken a bold directorial leap with Little Man Tate, and it's an audacious winner.

By RICHARD CORLISS

he rest of us have family albums to remind us of what we looked like in youth, Jodie Foster could have a movie library and a stack of press clippings. Because she has been an actress for 25 of her 28 years, she can screen the public record of her childhood. Anyone can. You can re-view her evolution from tadpole to tomboy and beyond: in the Coppertone commercial, the Disney pictures, the sitcoms, Taxi Driver, Bugsy Malone.

And you can scan the interviews she gave to magazines from age 11 onward. Dear reader, we have in our possession a tape of a lunchroom chat you had in seventh grade. Care to hear what you said? Care to be held to it?

Foster could pass this test because she was always a bright young woman as well as a symbol of precocious girlhood. At seven, she had entered Los Angeles' Lycée Francais, where she would perfect her French and emerge as valedictorian before heading off to Yale. So the child star could be expected to have thoughts, and to turn thoughts into sentences. Even today her teen talk is worth attending to, as another kind of Jodie Foster retrospective.

On acting: "People assume I've been robbed of my childhood. I don't think that's true. I've gotten something extra. Most kids, all they have is school. That's why they get so mad when it's boring and feel so bad if they fail. I have my work: I know how to talk to adults and how to make a decision. Acting has spared me from being a regular everyday kid slob, I

used to think of it as just a job, but now it's | director. They get to do anything! They my whole life, it's all I want to do.

On sisterhood: "My friendships with girls usually don't last too long. I'm not interested in a lot of the things they are, I guess." On femininity: "I never had the gift of looking cute. I hate dresses and iewelry. and the only doll I played with was a G.I. Joe. And I've got this deep voice. That's why they call me Froggy at school."

On her mother Brandy, a single parent: "She always listened to me. She thought of me as her best friend. If it weren't for me. have people killed, blow things up, make people cry and laugh. Directing is just like creating life." "It is a very masculine thing to do; they all end up in the hospital after a picture. It's a hard job." She said she hoped to start with a small-budget film. "Something sensitive with two people." She was determined, though, not to appear in a film she also directed. "That is the biggest mistake, unless you're Woody Allen

It's a wise child, or maybe a witch, who

knows so precisely and presciently what she wants to do. Acting is Foster's lifeenough of it, at least, to have earned her an Oscar in 1989 for playing the raped party girl in The Accused, and to have won raves and huge audiences for her role as a dogged FBI traince in The Silence of the Lambs, the third-highest grossing movie released this year. Next year she costars in . . . a Woody Allen picture. But right now she is a director, and a damned fine one, of a small-budget film. Little Man Tate is something sensitive with three people: a gifted child (Adam Hann-Byrd), his sympathetic teacher (Dianne Wiest) and the mother, a defiant single parent,

torn between love and loss. One part of Foster's teen prophesy proved timid. She directed herself as the mother. Destiny, if not

autobiography, demanded it. Not

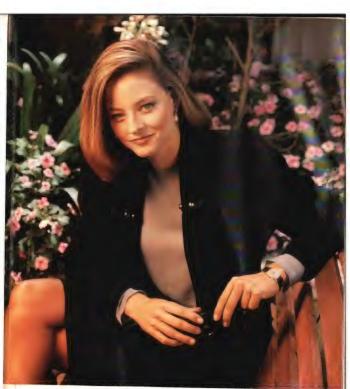
that this is the Brandy and Jodie Foster story; that would be too simple. It is more aptly an emblem of the strength, intelligence and self-awareness Jodie Foster has applied to ensure that a perishable commodity (actor) becomes a lasting presence. The movie can stand as both an artful commentary on growing up strange and a calling-card film for a



of TV assignments, including 45 commercials

she wouldn't have anything, and if it weren't for her. I would be nothing." Being raised without a father was "the best thing that ever happened to me. I never realized there was any difference between men and women. It never occurred to me I would have to be a nurse and not a doctor.

On directing: "It would be great to be a



director who promises much and delivers I most of it. Still, reverberations from Foster's extraordinary youth pulse through Scott Frank's script and inform the fierce care the director took in realizing it.

When he was a year old. Fred Tate could read the insignia on the back of a dish. At seven he is a displaced person, a brilliant adult mind imprisoned in second grade. In class he flummoxes his teacher

with complex answers to simple questions. (Q. Which of the numbers one through nine can be divided by two? A. All of

them.) On the schoolyard asphalt he draws elaborate Madonnas in colored chalk. But he can't catch a basketball without falling down, or fail to be oppressed by his genius. Seems Fred is a kid too, envying the boy's ease of one rowdy, popular classmate: "All I want is someone I can eat lunch with.

He's a Mozart in awe of Bart Simpson. Fred is mature enough to have a child of his own, and in a way, he does: his mother Dede. Coarse and loving, she waits tables in a Chinese lounge to support herself and her son with no help, thank you, from the long-departed Mr. Tate. ("Dede says I don't have a dad," Fred notes in the film's narration. "She says I'm the Immaculate Conception. That's a pretty big responsi-

PAPER MOON, AGE 10



Since and the TV beautiful to the Comment of the Comme

billy for a little kid.") They are a sublime mismatch of the sort usually found only in marriages. Fred balances Mom's checkbook and, as a Multher's Day gift, writes her an opera. Dede brags, like a tough schoolkid, about how she aced out some fastidious jerk in her basement faundly for her, chain bettern are bestement faundly for her, chain bettern are done on the Guglis, flower studies. Sometimes, Fred sone, "funke up in his paintings.

He confides this to Jane Grierson, who runs a school for gifted kids. A former prodigy, Jane can appreciate what Fred has to give; she can empathize with his anguish, isolation, nightmares. She will proteet him, nurture him-mother him, if he and Dede give her half a chance. Thus begins a kind of custody battle between the two women, each offering part of what Fred needs. Dede is heart. Jane is mind; Dede is sense. Jane sensibility. Neither is a whole number: Dede spits out cherry pits taster than she does ideas, and Jane bakes a meat loaf that looks like a moon rock. The movie asks. How many mothers can divide a boy's loyalty? And the answer is, Both of them. But is there an answer? A child can't choose who cares for him.

In the wrong hands, this material could get pretty twee and reductive; gove the kid a disease, and you have a TV movie of the week. And, in fact, the second half of Little Man Tate threaters to take sides, to turn Jame into an exploitative klutz, to provide a happy, even triumphant solution to the dilemma. All of hats and horns and two birthday cakes. But, really, that's just dessert to a film that of:

XI DITIVER, AGE 13



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fers much chewy food for thought. The comforting dream of communion at the end-can't crase the pictures careful wit about good people in desperate situations or, especially, the warn soldation shadowing a boy who knows his genits has made him alien. Jodic Sim is basically about the profound londries of childhood, and she's dealt with it head-on. I would be very happy and proud to have made the film that she did."

oster would be happy and proud to hear that; Malle's Murmur of the Heart is among her favorite pictures and one of the inspirations for Little Man Tate. The perpetual film student, who at Yale wrote a paper on François Trulfaut's Jules and Jim, still believes that French directors go "for the truth of a scene. This movie is my first statement, and I wanted a French film sense." That means not rushing or spoonfeeding the audience, not forcing easy moral judgments through camera effects or the placement of actors in the frame. This is not, in Foster's words, "a \$20 million nightmare"; her directorial hand does not conceal a joy buzzer. She caresses each movie moment as if it were privileged.

Little Man Tate isn't all French. It

E ACCUSED, AGE 25



and the second s

speaks with a distinctly American accent; it aunter-swhere a French film might slouch. Forter has worked for some superfine American directors—among them Marie Searses (Alice Destri Line Here Ammure and Tasi Draves). Jonathus Kaplan Geldecuseds, Jonathus Demme (The Silence of the Lamb)—and this movie indicate that she paid attention. A pool-hall mone, all shes mou and Saturn-ringed balls and electric-blue vectors, plays like a fast tribute to Scorossés. Hec Color of Marie.

At heart though, this movie soft in bimage its anybody. Fuster has her own conflictent style, her own einema eraft to rerate a world that is both familiar and unique. The look is coal and bright for month, and warmer, before the world the month and warmer. Dede and Fred lies is a diamestic mess bathed in an autumnal glow—as if they lived inside a jackollanterm and its teeth were the boy's cage.

The moties ereen is a cute to A minument and ministens are on display in there, providing for our pleasure. Handsome creatures (the performers) assume the shapes of pretty beases (the characters). Being observed through these glidled bars, in brutal or glamorous close-up. Inste to be confiring the affine actor. The moutter of exhibitionism and sutherarishing man preformer mark voluble, toxic, but of the provided and a confirmation of the conf

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LITTLE MAN TATE



and, perhaps, as isolated as Fred Tate. Foster says she directed the Little Man Tate script "because I understood it so much." How could she not? She was an excentional child from the age of three, when she shot her first Coppertone commercial. She was in TV shows and movies at nine; a beautiful blond girl, her sad eyes overwhelming a toothsome smile. She was Becky Thatcher, Tom Sawyer's muse of civility, and Addie Pray, beguiling con artist of the Paper Moon series, and a one-kid sorority of spunky Disney heroines. How many girls of the '70s wanted to be Jodie Foster'? Movie stars are to fall in love with. Or, if they are children, to adopt. How many parents wanted to trade in their daughters for this one? It takes a smart heart and the carapace

of an armadilio to emerge same, fet almohentility, from child cleebity, Jodie Fister somehow did it, and the somehow is bremather. Brandy, 5 chomere publicis, separated from Lacius Fister. III, a real estateingent, before their fourth-child. Alleids fattetion and the second section of the second grant, before their fourth-child. Alleids fattetion, 19, 1962. The atypical stage most on Nov. 19, 1962. The astypical stage most Brandy wan Jodie's faving respect becauses be urged and loved rather than pushed and shreed. "She does not not wayward sould in Hollwards. She does not not wayward sould in Hollwards. She does not not wayward sould in the lace as a second of the subject of the Hollwards. She to the She Sheadowarded me to have a serious and heroic cureer. So she, those some risks, off-best moves?

In any kind of movie, Jodie was offbeat because from girlhood she always seemed the older woman. Not yet 10: placing Beeky Thatcher, she instructs the young truant in the meaning of the word philanderer. A year or so later, as wizened Audrey in Alice Doesn't Live Here Anvmore, she shows Alice's son how to steal guitar strings from a music store, asks him it he wants to get high on Ripple, and nonchalantly reveals that her "mom turns tricks in the Ramada Inn from 3 on in the afternoon." Not long after Alice, she was l'allulah, a sleek gun moll, in Bugsy Matone. Alan Parker's weird-but-it-works munchkin musical. The same year she played Iris. Taxi Driver's notorious preteen hooker-rude talk and skimpy clothes ill-suiting a good girl stranded in hell. And with each new movie, it seemed as if Jodie had skipped another grade. Her intelligence gave her a precocious maturity; the

ven for Jodie, so spookily poised on- and offscreen. growing pains appeared inevitable. Everyone passes through an awkward stage, and for many child stars that stage is adulthood. They seem like less perfect versions of their lost miniature selves. Their cuteness is shed, and with it their earning powet. At 16 they can be obsolete. Many aging child actors, once sprung from the pampered captivity of, say, sitcom stardom, are as unready for real life as zoo pets suddenly released in the wild. They try, too quickly, to catch up on the rambunctious youth they missed, and wind up in the police blotter or on the cover of supermarket tabloids. They can spend their 20s torpid, discarded, in rehab from their early tame.

If any child star could escape the Hollywood huthouse and blossom, it would be Judie Foster. And indeed she considers when she was 18 to 24, "theyears 18 went off to college and had a life." She armored herself in friends, cocononed herself in the annymity of a newly plump figure, tangled with the deconstructionist teachers in her comp-lit classes at Yale.

But someome clas was llipping through her movie family album. On March 30, 1981, John Hinckley Jr. shot President Reagan and subsequently professed his love for Foster—or, really, for Iris in Tazi Dirior. (The film was based in part on the diary of Arthur Breiner, the would-be as assin of Givernor George Wallacc.) Hinckley won the prize, any deranged, and linked with his unknowing immortate.

interest with resident of controllars, interest and controllars, in rent underside of stargazing—of fundom famed into families in the subject (in the subject

She hopes that moviegoers will do the same. "My work is my work." she says. "It has always been a way to express myself, and to be things I'm not. My character pre-



The auteur on the set of Little Man Tate: "I won't wing it. When I come into a shot, I always have an idea."

in this town like her," says Frank. "She seems small and sad; you want to protect her. Then you find she's a pretty and intelligent woman who knows kick boxing. She's one of the few people who's not tonguelashed in the business. This town is the biggest collection of dips, dopes and dunderheads. Most are illiterate: their entire vocabulary can be summed up in MTV. But Jodie's resourceful. She knows movies, but she knows more than movies. She's unpretentious-99% of the time she dresses in sweats. And she's maternal; she eats healthy and tells you how to cat

Whatshe told the actors is a collegic actor of the result of the college of the

your cycbrows like you're scared,' and that would make him a little nervous. And then I'd get what I wanted." Adam, a Manhattan nine-year-old who

Addm., a Manhattan nun-year-old who guest are porter with a plastic lift on this unstretched tongue, remembers i dittel (b) on his unstretched tongue, remembers i dittel (c) the salt lift of th

We promise not to reprint this quite 20 years from now in a over story on the Justine Manna Bard, world-famed entomologist. But clanics are good that Adam to desart Juhan lifetong careers as little-boy actor, will evade the ravages of celeful, productive plays through graceful, productive plays through graceful, productive plays as the analysis on one. Not many people shine in or on every stage. Not many people are fudig Festing.

But think of this as the child performer was to the adult actress, so the tyro director may be to the nature auteur. Little Man Tate, for all its acuity of craft and galantry toward its characters, could be simply the first step; the Coppertone commercial of filmmaker Foster. If this is the larva, imagine the butterflies to come. —Reported by Martha Smilghi Los Angies and Linda Wildmann/New York.

cedes my job. I was who I was before I became an acress. I became an acress because I like to act, not to get my picture in the paper and have people wonder what color socks I wear—not to be able to get the best table at the Polo Lounge or to be good friends with Barry Diller."

Foster graduated (cum laude) from Yale in 1985. But at that time Diller, chairman of 20th Century Fox, was probably not much interested in being good friends with her, or easting her in a movie. She wasn't box-office poison; she was box-office invisible. Another actress's hope was her fear: that she might end up as a regular on The Bold Ones. "My career was at a low point when I graduated," she notes, "but I couldn't let it go without a real push. Then it struck me that I wasn't going to do dreck," and she took roles in some eccentric good films (Siesta, Five Corners) and at least one ordinary bad one (Stealing Home). Then The Accused came along. Or rather, she stormed after it. The part got her the Oscar and a place on the actresses A list. Only fitting: A is the grade she has earned all her life, in class and onscreen. As an actress-director, she knows her

subject. She could teach Hollwood to mput the quight Len gilled Larn sunething. "This is not a business that is kind to women, but it meeds them." She says. "The female primeers have its be 10 times better than a man. May be someday there will be an old-girl network. But I'm not interested in altenating the audience. Delieve in the system. I'm acutely conscious of the business in this town and how I organize my career, As an actor you must have self-knowledge and an understanding of your fitnist. I know I can't flay a

Chicano gang leader, but I could play Oucen Victoria. I'm also a structure hound. If the choices are too great, I'm paralyzed."

She is never paralyzed: she is always propared shelder playing section carrying a film. The ferocious fonce has always been there. When she was 13, the first been there. When she was 13, the first carrying a film. The ferocious fonce has always been there. When she was 13, the first carrying the f

s director of Tate, she amassed storyboard details on each scene-not just the camera blocking but the underlying emotions of each character. "Films are too important not to have a drawn road map," she says, "I won't wing it. When I come into a shot. Lalways have an idea." She has an idea too of the field-marshalry of directing a movie. "You must learn to lead, to be a benevolent king. You try to communicate your vision and monitor those who don't get it. I feel safe there. I can be vulnerable. The code is, they'll catch you if you fall down. I have camaraderic with these people. It's like going through a war together

By all accounts, there was no war between the Tates. Foster made sure it was a happy set; everybody watched the rushes; the young boss won new acolytes, none stronger than screenwriter Frank, who had hoped to direct the movie, "There's no one

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Hollywood's New Directions

No longer entrusted simply with "delicate" movies, women directors have finally shown that they can do anything a man can do—and often do it better

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

artha Coolidge is happy this week.
Not manic. Certainly not smug.
For the moment, and for a change,
the is content with her Hollywood lot.

Her mood is understandable. Coolidge is the director of Rambling Rose, and she has a well-descreed hit on her hands. Her eighth film, it is a marvelously sety and eecentric connet. The critics like it, and despite an absence of superstan names, audiences like it too. In these circumstances, amone would be entitled to feel just fine.

Yet something more than personal success colors Condingles satisfaction. Hough Rambling Rose is a singular artistic achievement, it should not be regarded as one that is singular professionally Fay Condidge, as well as for many of the female pers, this is the good news. Rose is merely one in a rash or major movies directed by women that have been released in the past couple of months: and it pressiges an equal number of equally significant films by women that will some arrive at theaters.

To the women behind the cameras, this burst of activity is a powerful signal. They are finally beginning to achieve something more than token status as directors and more and more of them are starting to sustain coherent careers in Hollywood. Best of all, the range of their work belies the conventional notion that holds that women

can be entrusted only with delicately maced little filling dealing with intricate personal relationships. Most of them would agree that any direction needs. Ac Coildige Says, "a strong male side and a strong feesage, "a strong male side and directions, see says, demonstrate "a nutruring ability," in order to draw good work from their actions, as well as the macedine ability "to be a tough descion maker and move things along. Now, if some mace and move things along. Now, if the coming out so that everyone will see that out all winner are the same, that we offer different points of view—different from men, but also different from each other."

So far, so good. No one is likely to contuse Kathryn Bigelow's sleek thriller Point Break, which improbably but effectively combined cops and surfers (and grossed \$40 million last summer), with Randa Haines' The Ductor (late summer's surprise hit), about an arrogant surgeon who becomes a befuddled cancer patient in his own hospital and as a result humanizes his practice. Says Bigelow, who directed a cleverly variant vampire movie (Near Dark) and one about a gun-loving policewoman (Blue Swel): "I like to make films that are provocative, that can rattle your case, Haines, who also directed Children of a Lesser God, says, "I'm consistently interested in projects in which the core of the story is communication and the struggles of human beings to connect.

Nor would anyone contuse Mary, Age need Donoghue's Paurlike, a well-acted, sweeth stated and emotionally predictable and emotionally predictable and emotionally predictable of an estranged couple brought together by a visiting child, with Rambling Rose, which portrays a much more genially desfunctional family involved with a randy and amiably obliging serving girl played by Lauran Dern. Based on a script that Calder Willingham derived from his own novel. Roses' true preoccupation is one that the moves always caste to skyly but almost new-

er directly confront: basic, down-andgoofy human horniness,

The immediate future promises this sort of celecticism on a virtually month-bymonth basis. After Jodie Foster's Little Man Tate comes Joan Micklin Silver's dramatic comedy Stepkids: Barbra Streisand's complex, epically proportioned psychodrama The Prince of Tides; and Lili Fini Zanuck's Rush, about a pair of undercover nares who fall into addiction. Due next year are Nora Ephron's directorial debut. This Is My Life, about a divorced stand-up comic and her daughters, and Penny Marshall's A League of Their Own, about an all-female baseball league. Maybe by that time Mary Lambert's Grand Isle, an adaptation of Kate Chopin's teminist novel The Awakening will have found a distributor.

Most appealing about this catalog is that it defies convenient generalization. All of them could as well have been directed by



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Cinema

a man. And in times past, of course, they all would have been. Until about a decade ago, the number of women who enjoyed sustained directorial careers in the U.S. could be counted in single digits: Lois Weber (Where Are My Children?) in the early 1900s. Dorothy Arzner (Christopher Strong) in the '30s, Ida Lupino (The Hitchhiker) in the '50s. As recently as 1975 Joan Micklin Silver and her producer husband Ray had to release her first feature, Hester Street, themselves. A studio executive told her. "It's hard enough to get a picture made and marketed. Women directors are

just one more problem we don't need. In 1981 the Directors Guild of America formed a Women's Steering Committee. largely on the basis of an astonishing set of statistics: of the 7,332 features made in Hollywood between 1939 and 1979, only 14 were directed by women. Partly because of pressure from the guild, partly because ambitious and talented women simply would not be denied, the numbers have improved-a little. In 1990, according to the DGA, women directed 23 of the 406 feature films produced under guild contracts-roughly 5%, only a small rise from the 4.2% average they had maintained

over the previous seven years.

In other words, women are still fighting history. They may also be fighting the diminished expectations that those years bred into them. Donoghue recalls that when she was hired to write Beaches for Disney, she asked, "When do I direct?" The executive said, "You're the first woman writer who's asked me that question. Every guy who ever wrote a script, it's the first thing out of his mouth." Says Donoghue: "What I keep discovering is that most women's expectations are really low You've got to get out there and ask for it.'

Now the talent pool is at least a little deeper, a little more readily discernible to the Hollywood powers. "For the past 10 vears or so," says Coolidge, "a certain number of women have been developing filmographies. There was no exciting additional number of films made by women. but we weren't standing still. What you are seeing is the accumulation of experience.

nd, according to Bigelow, the accumulation of contacts. "What's been achieved for women," she says, "is access." As the Hollywood cliché goes, it's a relationship business, and all directors, male and female, need what Silver calls godfathers, studio executives who are sympathetic to their work. "Younger studio executives are more responsive to women. They have girlfriends, sisters, wives who work, and they are simply better attuned to the problems of working women, which includes the problems of women directors."

It does not hurt that women like Penny Marshall (Big) and Amy Heckerling (Look Who's Talking) have made megahits. And it certainly helps that women have long since proved that they can handle both temperamental actors and macho crews. The worst problem Donoghue had on Paradise was a well-meaning guy who called her "honey." It wasn't sexism, she thinks, but regionalism-he was a Texan and suitably abashed when the error of his habitual ways was pointed out.

That squares with the experiences of Donoghue's colleagues. "It would be Pollyanna of me to say that sexism doesn't exist," Randa Haines comments. "But I've been very lucky. I haven't faced any real discrimination." Nor has Bigelow, who says, "I've never felt I've been discriminated against. There's been

great support from the men I work with." Most of the women who are working more or less regularly as directors feel they have reached a sort of plateau. Until recently, Coolidge says, "there were so few of us that every success for one of us was a success for all women, every failure a failure for all women. That was sad."

Are there movie realms into which women directors still feel they cannot tread? Some women think studio executives are uncomfortable trusting them with large-scale action and special-effects pictures, but most are indifferent to this form of discrimination. These movies are the biggest grossers. Donoghue admits, but she's not interested in doing them. Silver is reluctant to rule them out for women, "any more than I'd want to say that a man can't possibly do a childbirth scene." Lili Zanuck, whose Rush is said to be about as tough as movies come, thinks crime drama somehow suits her. "You want to tell a story you can tell best," and she likes "the reality, the element of factual truth" in Rush. Besides, she believes that the movie has strong box-office possibilities. "If you've got a commercial movic," she says, cutting to the chase, "no one cares who you are or where you come from.

Ultimately, that's the answer for all directors, male or female, newcomer or veteran, Nowadays, however, when American movies seem locked into formulas that have never been particularly stirring aesthetically and are not working terribly well at the box office, one has to believe that Martha Coolidge is posing the right question when she asks, "What can a woman offer?" To that, she supplies the simple, truthful answer: "A -Reported by fresh perspective."

Elizabeth L. Bland/New York and Mayo Mohs/







Television

Running Off at the Mouth

Mothers-in-law from hell and other lunacies rule the proliferating talk shows

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

eri Copley, who once played a blond airhead on the sitcom We Got It Made. isn't exactly a high-profile Hollywood celebrity these days. Still, she had plenty to say on a recent segment of the Maury Povich Show. Povich's subject was the dumbblond stereotype. Teri was against it. "I get the feeling," said Maury, pondering one of her more heartfelt comments, "that you're into self-awareness big time.

Self-awareness is television's big-time plague. Name the social issue, front-page crime or family trauma, and somebody is thrashing it out on a TV talk show. A listing of typical topics is a surrealistic blur of human misery, sideshow voyeurism and sheer lunacy: illegitimate kids who found their natural parents but wish they hadn't: transplant recipients who claim to have adopted the personalities of their donors: women who have been raped by the same man more than once: guys who like overweight gals; mothers-in-law from hell; doctors with AIDS; crack addicts with babies; celebrities with books. Next Donahue, next Donahue, next Donahue . .

The glut has never been so thick. Povich, former host of A Current Affair, is just one of half a dozen newcomers elbowing their way into a field already crowded with such long-distance runners-off-at-themouth as Phil Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, Geraldo Rivera, Sally Jessy Raphaël, Joan Rivers and the irrepressible Regis & Kathie Lee. Stand-up comic Jenny Jones new daytime show started off with a bigger initial lineup of stations than any syndicated talk show in history. Montel Williams, a former naval-intelligence officer and motivational speaker, emcees an issue-oriented program currently being test-marketed in 15 cities. Veteran game-show host Chuck Woolery chats with Hollywood celebrities on another new syndicated show, while Entertainment Tonight's John Tesh does the same on NBC's One on One. Ron Reagan, son of the former President, gets weightier in late-night, conducting sober-minded discussions of topics like gay rights and the future of the Democratic Party.

Early ratings for the newcomers are only mediocre, and some of these shows









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Married to Raped by Who murdered In love with Writing books about **Alcoholics** Serial killers Their fathers Organ donors

will undoubtedly spin into oblivion. (Reagan's show is the first one reported to be in trouble.) But potential successors are already cranking up. Dennis Miller, the former Saturday Night Live wiseacre, will have a late-night forum starting in January, and Academy Award-winner Whoopi Goldberg is set to star in her own talk show next

Who can tell one from another? Well. the people who produce and star in these shows at least give it a good try. "Ours is a real-people, real-stories show," says Jim Paratore, senior vice president of Telepictures, which co-produces Jenny Jones. But there's more of a fun attitude than a newsy or confrontational one." Povich boasts that "my strength is storytelling. I like stories with twists and turns, and I like to be on the edge of my seat." Woolerv is more laid back. Says executive producer Fire Lieber: "We try to make the show as guest friendly as possible.

Woolery's tack is the exception. Most of the current spate of talk shows are children of Phil Donahue, who revolutionized the genre more than two decades ago. Donahue, whose syndicated show went national in 1970, took the host off the stage and planted him in the studio audience. He shifted the conversation away from the bland, celebrity-dominated fluff trademarked by such pioneers as Mery Griffin and focused on topical issues and real-people problems. With the audience chiming in. Donahue was the talk show as group therapy

The Donahue revolution brought heft, relevance and emotion to a genre that had become a show-biz confection. But it also sounded the opening fanfare for what has since become a Roman circus. Stories of individual pain and grief are now hotbutton issues. Conversation is replaced by political cant and psychological bromides. No nersonal story is too outlandish for nationwide consumption, no private emotion sate from public exploitation. Geraldo serves up tear-filled family reunions like candy from a Pez dispenser. Winfrey last week brought on a string of heartbroken lovers who pleaded with their ex-mates to give them one more chance. ("Should she give him the date, audience?" prompted Oprah after one sob story.)

Finding a spot of fresh sod on this well-

America needs a ne fast and effective clean

AN ALARMING LACK OF PROGRESS IN CLEANUR

When Congress enacted the Federal Superfund program in 1980, the goal was to quickly clean up America's most dangerous hazardous waste sites. Congress and many others assumed there would be only a relatively few such sites and that cleanup costs would be limited.

Now, after a decade of trying to make Superfund work, it's clear these assumptions were wrong and that a quick fix was never possible. What's wrong with Superfund and why has so little been accomplished?

The problem is twofold. First, the real scope of our nation's hazardous waste situation is far greater than Congress anticipated. With 1,200 priority sites already identified, growing numbers of sites are being found in every state. The Environmental Protection Agency expects that by the year 2000, there may be as many as 2,000 priority sites

With rapidly rising cleanup costs, which now average about \$25 million per site, the eventual price tag is staggering. According to a top government agency, cleaning up all of America's hazardous waste sites could take from 30 to 60 years and cost up to \$500 billion!

A second problem is Superfund's alarming lack of progress in cleanup. A decade and billions of dollars later, fewer than 60 out of the 1,200 sues have actually been cleaned up.

Why? One major reason is Superfund's liability system. It requires that cleanup be paid for by establishing liability-who sent what waste, how much and where-and then negotiating or litigating with those believed to be responsible. While this sounds good in theory, it hasn't worked in practice. Instead, the result has been



delayed cleanup and enormous legal, consulting and other costs unrelated to cleanup.

COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF SOLVING THEM.

This is because working out who pays and how much for cleanup is very difficult. Under Superfund, anyone who simply used or owned the site at any time could be liable for the entire cleanup bill. Users can include major corporations, small businesses, local governments, hospitals, nursing homes, schools, even individuals. And it does not matter who caused the harm or whether they did anything wrong. Superfund's retroactive

w system to achieve up of our environment.

liability provision makes parties pay for past actions based on today's standards.

For example, at 422 sites almost 14,000 parties have been notified that they could be liable. In turn, many of them are identifying still others who contributed in some way to the presence of waste at each site. And since Superfund liability deals with past waste disposal, the record of users can go back 25, 30 or even 40 wears and can number in the hundreds.

The result The focus on cleanup has been lost as private and public prites spend years in difficult but unavoidable negotiations and litigation, trying to work out agreements that would provide funds for cleanup. At some sites, more money has been spent resolving complex factual issues than on cleanup itself. This does a lot for lawyers and consultants, but very little for the environment. And of course, these costs are eventually passed on to all of us as consumers in higher prices for goods and services. Isn't it time to stop this wasteful process and get on with cleanups uso our environment.

At AlG, we think so. There is little to be gained by arguing over waste disposal that happened long ago. America needs a system that will promote fast and effective clearup, reduce unnecessary legal fees, spread the cost of clearup broadly, and encourage responsible waste management practices today.

A PROPOSED SOLUTION: THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL TRUST FUND.

To accomplish this, we have proposed creating a National Environmental Trust Fund. similar to the National Highway Trust Fund. Its resources would be used exclusively for cleaning up old hazardous waste sites. Superfund's tough

liability provisions would still apply for future pollution, as would all other state and federal environmental laws designed to promote responsible waste management.

One way this fund could be financed would be by adding a separate fee to commercial and industrial insurance premiums in the United States. Even'a modest isseesment, say 2% of premiums and an equivalent amount for self-tinsureds, would provide about \$40 billion over the next decade—more than enough to clean up the 1,200 highest-priority sites. Without endless time and money sport on legal debates about liability.

A national advisory board consisting of private individuals, inclustry and public officials could be charged with overseeing the program. We also suggest giving consideration to establishing local technical monitoring committees in each community. These groups of local entizens, representatives of industry and others would work with the Environmental Protection Agency and their own state on the particular cleanup sitefrom the very beginning of the cleanup effort.

YOU CAN HELP

We've waited long enough and spent enough money in the courtrooms. Now it's time for action. A cleaner America should be all Americans' shared goal and shared responsibility.

To express your views, or if you would like further information about AIG's proposed National Environmental Trust Fund, write to Mr. M.R. Greenberg, Chairman, American International Group, Inc., 70 Pine Street, New York, NY, 1075.

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trampled ground is getting harder and harder. Provise, whose extprilke grin seems to grow in direct proportion to the tackiness of his subject matter, has run quickly through the A list of tabbiid stories and is armasching the seedy back pages. Among his recent guests women with have had this gring accidents, the winner of middle-gring contests, the winner of middle-gring with the same woman. "When together with, the same woman. "When tone is in bed with Georgia, does the other feelit?" asked the leering Powle.

Jenny Jones, best known for her feminist, no-men-allowed stand-up comedy act. is trying to stake out her own territory by straddling the old and the new. She wades energetically into the studio audience like Oprah or Sally Jessy (the audience can even vote on questions like "Are you unhappy with the size and shape of your breasts?"). Giggly and farm fresh, however, she seems more like a '90s reincarnation of Dinah Shore. Her homey, lightweight segments range from cooking tips and dating advice to an interview with a female boxing champ; for that one, Jenny dressed up in boxing togs and took a turn at the speed bag.

The established shows too have been re-fining their niches. The Oprah Winfrey Show, the highest-rated daytime talk fest, seems to get first call on Hollywood celebrities pushing new movies and tales of personal woe (Robin Williams, Suzanne Somers). Rivers stresses Hollywood glitz and is experimenting with gossip segments at the start of each show. Geraldo pushes his aggressive melodramatics more desperately than ever. For a recent segment on "the dark side of modeling," three women were sent undercover to answer a newspaper ad for female models. The spies brought back a "shocking" videotape showing the photographer asking-to nohody's surprise-if they wanted to pose in the nude. Confronted by Geraldo on the program, the photographer readily admitted the charge. The host's outrage was

undiminished. No show is more shrill than Donahue. Phil still scores his coups (he had the first TV interview with Wanda Holloway, convicted of plotting the murder of her daughter's cheerleading rival) and does his homework But his hyperventilating style has reached the point of self-parody, and his exploitative gimmicks are growing increasingly shameless. No one but Donahue could kill an hour debating whether beauty contests in bars are demeaning to women or just good clean fun-or manage to keep a straight face while trotting out, after every commercial break, a different trio of scantily clad women to demonstrate these contests

The show, of course, had a politically correct twist. The final group of parading lovelies were—what else?—topless men. Come back, Merv. All is forgiven.

A Flagship Heels to Starboard

The New Republic, founded as a vehicle of the intellectual left, appoints conservative Andrew Sullivan as editor

which of these characteristics might not normally be used to describe the editor of the New Republic: a) conservative; b) Catholic; c) British; or d) outspo-

Try "All of the above." In Andrew Sullivan. 28, the 77-year-old magazine once considered the flagship of American intellectual liberalism has a new editor who defies the old conventions, just as the New Republic now does itself. "I'm a conserva-



Sullivan: "With the collapse of the Soviet empire and the general discrediting of the Great Society liberalism, what does it mean for a magazine to move from left to right?"

tive with a small c." said Sullivan last week, hours after his first issue as editor had appeared. "I'm much more comfortable running pieces that are unashamedly conservative than my predecessors were."

Those predecessors included such stalwart liberal thinkers as founding editor Herbert Croly and early contributor Walter Lippmann. But in 1974 the magazine was bought by Martin Peretz. It subsequently reflected his evolution from a major donor to liberal Democratic causes to a leading neoconservative with hawkish views on foreign policy. During the 1980s the magazine went soft on the Reagan Administration, ridiculed much of the Democratic Party for its lack of pragmatism and echoed Peretz's forceful pro-Israel views. No journal has done better explaining the often unprincipled but always practical reasoning of Bush Administration officials. who routinely unburdened themselves to

the magazine's White House correspondent, Fred Barnes. Notes Michael Kinsley, a former New Republic editor who still writes the magazine's "TRB" column: "I don't think Andrew's appointment indicates any change. It con

But in fact, abilities and appointment does industrial subtle but significant does included by a bubble but significant does included by a bubble but significant does not be considered to be co

Sullivan's ascension was something of a surprise. Peretz announced one day nearly ayear ago that Sullivan was the new deputy to Hertzberg. His sudden rise—as well as his penchant for stories on such subjects as the ins and outs of black conservatism seemed to mark the culmination of Peretz's own political evolution.

Rased in East Grinssead, a working aiches town south of Jondon, Sullivan aitended Oxford, where he read history and at the databled in drama and debate. While president of the Oxford Union, he mel Perstz, who was participating in a debate on Middie liast policies. Sullivan subsequently antended Harward, where he earned anstended Harward, where he earned anstended subsequently and the subsequently and the working of the president of the compact of the president of the compact of the president of the president of the compact of the president of the president of the president president of the president of the president of the president president of the president of the president of the pretident of the president of the president of the president of the pretident of the president of the pretident of the president of th

Sullivan, who once played Hambet at Hanvard, says the "look-conservatives" desired in notion-be-conservatives, "desired in "boring." "With the collapse of the Soviet empire and the general discrediting of the Great Society liberalism, what does it mean for a magazine to muve from left to right?" he asks. "We're happy to mix itup."

Sullivan has brought a cutting-edge quality to the magazine's reporting on homosexuality. Sullivan's December cover story on gay life/gay death reported rifts between HIV-positive and HIV-negative gay men. He is most proud of putting a pink triangle, the logo of the gay movement, on the New Regulbic's cover. "No other magazine has done that," he saws.

Well, no other conservative magazine.

—By Michael Duffy/Washington



Health

Fountain of Youth in a Jar

Cosmetics firms are touting new types of skin creams to ward off aging and cellulite, but so far the evidence is scant

By ANASTASIA TOUFEXIS

In the fantasy world of cosmeties, hope and tript the rude began at the gate. Americans have long recognized that fact—and desired seems that the gate. Americans have long recognized that probably declared the proposition of the company of the proposition of t

These days, however, manufactures are going to greater lengths to exploit consumers' unwary nature. Critics charge that cosmeties promotion has moved beyond into bounds of puffery and into the realmod unsubstantiated medical chaims. Where is the evidence? asks dermatologist John Reeves of San Francisco. "It's time for cosmeties manufacturers to put up or shut

The growing debate centers mainly on the pricey potions, belions, creams and gels that promise to thwart the wrinkly rawages of aging and smooth the pockets of fat, dubbed cellulite by cosmetologists, that dimple many women's hips and thighs. Thanks to the aging of the blub boomers, U.S. sales, of \$50°C, since 1988. to \$3.7 billion ay year. That makes them the fastesgrowing segment of the tolleries and cosmetics industry, which rakes in almost \$24 billion annually.

The cosmeties firms are trying to capitalize on preliminary scientific research suggesting that certain vitamins and other chemicals may improve skin appearance. Some seem to counteract the had effects of substances called free radicals, which are produced regularly by the body's metabolism. These highly volatile substances-oxygen ions are one example-react with cell membranes, and over time the radicals may play a role in various ailments and the aging process itself. There is evidence that at least one radical-fighting skin cream, a vitamin-A derivative called Retin-A, stimulates skin-cell production, but it is sold only by prescription. Another prescription product, Lac-Hydrin, contains 12% lactic acid, one of a class of compounds called alpha-hydroxy acids. These chemicals seem to help combat dry skin.

But researchers are a long way from putting the Fountain of Youth in a jar, and there is no rigorous scientific evidence to support the sweeping claims made by the manufacturers of scores of cosmetics sold over the counter. They contain some of the same ingredients as prescription drugs, but

in much lower concentrations.

Elizabeth Arden boasts that its Ceramide Time Complex Capsules contain various ingredients, including retinyl palmi-

)S

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[THE ANT]

It has long been assumed that things that are small aren't as powerful or sophisticated as things that are big. Of course, that just isn't true. Take the ant for instance. In spite of its small size, the ant is amazingly strong. Most ants can lift objects ten times heavier than their bodies. Some, very muscle-bound ants no doubt, can clean and jerk objects 50 times their body weight. To put that into proper perspective, that's like a man hoisting a sofa with 48 people and a small dog on it. But while the ant may seem like a miniature Hercules, don't forget he's also exceptionally smart. Ants are known to build nests up to 3 feet high and covering an area the size of a tennis court. Often these nests are complete with chambers for the Queens, nurseries for the young, living rooms and hallways in which to travel. Not bad considering most full-grown humans can't hook up a VCR. Now if you think the ant is pretty impressive, wait'll you read about the little mighty-mite on the next page.



[THE RADICALLY NEW T2200SX]

Like the ant, small computers have often been considered underpowered pea brains.

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tate, and vitamins E and F, that together fix, replenish or repair the barrier function of the skin." Shisheido touts Bio-Performance as a "super-revitalizer" that awakens the "skin's youthful balance." Avon is pushing three different antiaging treatments: BioAdvance (with vitamin A). Collagen Booster (vitamin C) and a new product to be introduced next year. Aneu (alpha-hydroxy acids). As for cellulite nostrums. Arden promotes its gel and moisturizer by citing clinical tests "from a renowned university in France." Lancome says its gel can provide "relief" from cellulite in two to four weeks. And Clarins contends that consumers can slim down and firm up with the help of its concentrated

anticellulite gel. Medical specialists are leery of the aggressive marketing. Advertisements, they complain, frequently imply that the treatments alter body physiology. If that is true, then the products should be reclassified as drugs by the Food and Drug Administration and thus be subject to the same rigorous-and costly-testing for efficacy required of all medications. Doctors are skeptical of the evidence that cosmetics firms currently offer in support of their claims, including before and after pictures and clinical reports. Albert Kligman, a professor emeritus of dermatology at the University of Pennsylvania, says he has never seen an industry research paper that was

believable.

Manufacturers insist that their promotional materials suggest only that use of the products will improve a person's appearance. "We can claim that the product helps to promote younger-looking skin." says Mari Chihaya of Shiseido, "but we cannot say it is younger skin because that becomes a drug claim." Other companies are bolder in their assertions. Alex Znaiden, director of product development at Avon, says, "Our eye gel contains materials that, as they go into the skin, are able to influence the cellular environment and cause changes to occur." Not everyone is happy to hear that. Says Alice Longley, an industry analyst with the Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette investment firm: "It's pretty frightening if there are products out there that change the body and haven't gone

through that rigorous testing process Critics hope that the FDA and the Federal Trade Commission, which oversees advertising, will do more to curb the cosmetics industry's excesses. Since 1987, the FDA has sent complaints to 50 cosmetics companies over specific claims, and in response most firms have changed these pitches. In 1989 the FTC cited Revlon for unsubstantiated advertising promises for an anticellulite treatment, by then taken off the market by the company. But new products and promotions are being launched all the time. Consumers should take most of the claims with a grain of salt, or at least a dollop of -Reported by Sally B. Donnelly/

Los Angeles and Kathryn Jackson Fallon/New York



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Heavy Metal Goes Platinum

Polishing their music, if not their image, rock's raunchy, long-haired rebels win a growing mainstream audience

By GUY GARCIA

Poison, Anthrax, Alice in Chains, Skid Row. The band names alone conjure images of mayhem, torture and death. Heavy-metal rock, with its raw lyrics, pummeling beats, banshee vocals and buzzsaw guitars, seems custom-made for leather-clad lowlifes with tattooed biceps and lobotomized brains. Teenagers love it. Always have. But during the early 1980s, when the insipid glam-rock of Duran Duran ruled the charts, heavy metal was the idiot in the basement, shunned by music-industry executives and dismissed by critics as adolescent noise.

Not so in the hardheaded '90s. Today Duran Duran is history, and heavy metal is white-hot. Thanks to bands like Metallica, which sold 650,000 copies of its namesake album in the first week of its August release, every parent's worst nightmare has become a record executive's dream come true. Metallica entered Billboard's top-albums chart at No. 1 and staved there for four weeks, spawning the hit single Enter Sandman. Even the critics are coming around. Rolling Stone awarded Metallica four stars in its review, calling it "an exemplary album of mature but still kickass rock & roll.

Metallica is not the only band turning heavy metal into pure platinum. Skid Row's latest. Slave to the Grind, has sold 2.5 million copies worldwide since last June, Van Halen's For Unlawful Carnal Knowledge entered the charts 13 weeks ago at No. 1 and sold 2 million copies in less than a month. Poison's past three albums, Look What the Cat Dragged Dosen Open Un and Say Ahh and Flesh and Blood, have sold a combined total of 12 million copies; all five of Motley Crue's have sold more than 1 million each.

Those numbers are giving metal bands the kind of clout once reserved for pop's biggest stars. In August Columbia Records signed Aerosmith, a hard-rock band with metal overtones. to a \$30 million-plus contract. Motley Crue's deal is even sweeter. Elektra Records will pay the Crue at least \$35 million, including a \$22.5 million advance, for its next five albums. Meanwhile, A&M Records expects big things from Soundgarden, a Seattle-based band that packs the sonic punch of early I ed Zeppelin.

MTV, which features heavy-metal bands every Saturday night on the Headbangers

Ball program, acknowledged metal's ascendancy by inviting Metallica to play on its 1991 video awards show. On that show, the Viewer's Choice Award for Best Video went to Queensryche, another



Wild at heart: Poison's Brett Michaels, Metallica's James Hetfield

metal band with a broad following. In October the heavy-metal scene will get its own Grammys when the first Concrete Foundations Awards are held in Los Angeles.

Most metal bands still must rely on concerts and word of mouth to sell records. "It's a cultlike audience." says Geoff Mayfield, director of retail research for Billboard. "A record like Metallica can sell without airplay and without MTV. So there is a voracious appetite.

Musically, heavy metal has evolved somewhat, from a monotonous barrage of frenetic tempos and slashing guitars toward richer aural textures and even an occasional ballad. Metallica is typical of the metal bands that have renounced their raunchy roots and polished their music, if not their image. Gone are the crude lyrics and blaring wah-wah guitars that marked its sound in the mid-80s. Many of the tunes on Metallica could almost be called reflective. like Holier Than Thou: "Gossip is burning on the tip of your tongue. You lie so much you believe yourself. Judge not lest you be judged yourself."

Metal musicians play to the alienated fantasies of a mostly white. young and male audience by portraying themselves as disillusioned outsiders who have turned their backs on a corrupt civilization. Dressed like renegade bikers, they sing anthems to the rebellious and the wild. or wild at heart. Outrageous behavjor is more than a pose for many of them, notably Skid Row's lead singer, Sebastian Bach (ne Bierk).

whose on-the-road anties have included tearing up hotel rooms and striking a concert spectator with a bottle that he hurled into the audience.

"Things have come full circle," says Bach, a Canadian who sang in church choirs before finding his true calling in the foronto club scene. "In the '70s pop was more hip, and now the energy of punk has come into heavy metal. Punk was a socialist thing, and metal was a capitalism thing." Yet both are sneeringly anti-Establishment. In Slave to the Grind, Skid Row proclaims, "Can't be the king of the world. If you're slave to the grind Tear down the rat racial slime

"We're not going to f_ in' sell out like the mainstream," vows Bach. "The kids can see through the phoniness." No doubt. Which could raise a ticklish problem for bands like Metallica and Skid Row, which presume to voice the disaffection of middle-class youths while earning fat-eat salaries. To stay on top of the heap, metal's messiahs may have to figure how to keep both their millions and their edge-or risk becoming long-haired rebels without a With reporting by Patrick E. Cole/

Los Angeles

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Books-

The Journalist and the Murder

After deceiving the villain in Fatal Vision, Joe McGinniss errs anew by siding with the victim in Cruel Doubt

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

I hat Bismarck said of legislation and sausages, one must also admit of the more titillating varieties of journalism: those who love the product would do well not to examine the process too closely. That is especially so with the faddish nonfiction genre of factual crime reconstructions, in which, for tactical reasons of getting the inside story, authors generally ally

themselves either with careerist police detectives and prosecutors, or with pathetic victims cooperating in a further invasion of their privacy. or with criminals. Each hond can be unseemly. its results distorting.

Consider Joe McGin-

niss. When writing about subjects other than crime, he led a charmed professional life. The Selling of the President, 1968, a savage back-room report on the manipulative TV advertising in Richard Nixon's campaign, made him, at 26, the youngest U.S. nonfiction writer to top the New York Times best-seller list. Other triumphs followed. If McGinniss did not quite rank with David Halberstam or John McPhee as a chronicler, he stood

not too far behind.

Then came Fatal Vision, the biggest hit of his career, with an NBC mini-series to boot. The devil's bargain to make it happen was that McGinniss had to befriend, become the business partner of and even. for technical legal reasons, join the defense team of Dr. Jeffrey MacDonald, a man eventually convicted of beating to death his pregnant wife and two children. Well before the jury spoke. McGinniss had come to believe his man was guilty. But to protect the book contract he had to keep his subject happy, and he did so, not just by concealing opinions but also by telling overt lies. MacDonald sued, and after a hung jury. McGinniss and his publisher settled, reportedly for \$350,000. More humiliation came when Janet Malcolm of the New Yorker detailed McGinniss's indiscretions in a 1989 article, quoting liberally from his letters to MacDonald, including gushing affirmations of belief in his innocence, sleazy attempts to muscle out competing writers, and financial and sexual confessions meant to induce the convicted man to respond in kind

With his latest venture into fact crime. Cruel Doubt (Simon & Schuster: 460 pages; \$25), McGinniss has swung to the opposite pole. Eleven months after Malcolm's devastating piece, he began to write the story



Access is everything: McGinniss at home in Massachusetts

of Bonnie Von Stein, a North Carolina woman who was unquestionably a victim rather than a villain. Her husband was bludgeoned and stabbed to death beside her as they lay in bed at home; she too was battered, and nearly died. Despite her injuries, she was unjustly treated as a suspect for many months, as was her daughter. She suffered a mother's worst nightmare when her son confessed to devising the crime because he wanted his parents' money more than their company

In telling the mother's story, McGinniss cannot be accused of glorifying a neurotic criminal. Nor, he is at pains to emphasize, can he be charged with exploitation. He did not seek out his subject. Rather, she came to him-because, he gloats, she so admired Fatal Vision.

The basic problem with the resulting

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Books

book is that, for all the drama in its central character's signation, there is not much in the woman herself. She comes across draft, passive and emotionally blocked. Her best quality, stubborn persistence, does not lend itself to glamour or theatries. Besides, she was not present—victims rare-with the company of the properties of the

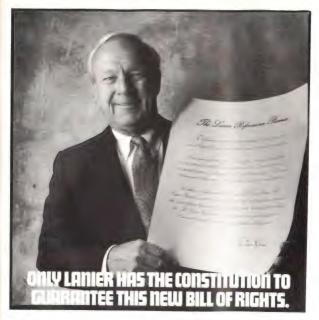
There is a subtler, graver flaw, one that readers may not recognize unless they pick up another current book about Von Stein's case. Jerry Bledsoe's Blood Games (Dutton; 451 pages; \$22.95). In telling Bonnie Von Stein's story. McGinniss adopts, consciously or not, her view that her son was mostly a pawn manipulated by dangerous friends. McGinniss stresses the young man's weakness of character and instability; he quotes defense and prosecution attorneys describing the youth as a "wimp," and attempts to establish his two co-conspirators as evil geniuses. Even the photograph McGinniss uses shows Von Stein's son as a weak-chinned, wide-eyed boy. Bledsoe, whose emphasis is on the perpetrators rather than the victims, convincingly evokes in words and pictures a much harsher figure, quite capable of conniving

at murder for gain. On the whole, Bledsoe's book is livelier, clearer and better reported, although it lacks an organizing theme to compete with McGinniss's haunting image of a woman being victimized over and over. Both books, for example, report that the three plotters were enmeshed in Dungeons & Dragons: Bledsoe does a far hetter job of explaining that game. Both books are freighted with pointless multigenerational background for the main characters, but Bledsoe's is less tedious. Not only are the co-conspirators almost ciphers in McGinniss's book, but so is the murdered husband Lieth Von Stein, while Bledsoe brings him alive.

Mostly, however, the divergence of the books demonstrates the journalistic axiom that access is everything. Bonnic Von Stein felt abused by the police and prosecutors and didn't like the final verdict; she was convinced the wrong youth had been named as principal assailant. So McGinniss takes an artificially long 200 pages to get anyone arrested and even then keeps casting doubt on the official story, to the point of raising last-minute doubts about the complete innocence of Von Stein's daughter. Bledsoe, however, seemingly had help from the police and builds the latter half of his book around the trial. So he accepts as valid the very evidence that McGinniss convincingly challenges. To read either book is to feel one knows all about the Von Stein case.

To read both is to know more and be

sure of much less.



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THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE

The Emperor's Old Files

J. EDGAR HOOVER: THE MAN AND THE SECRETS by Curt Gentry; Norton; 846 pages; \$29.95

By JOHN ELSON

or nearly five decades, he artfully promoted himself as America's chief guardian of law and order, ever on the alert to foil public enemies and Soviet spicaslike. In fact, J. (for John, which he dropped in the '2lls to avoid confusion with a small time crook of the same name). Edgar Hoo.

ver, the Jongtime director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was normally more engaged in battling his real enemies: anyone in Congress, the White House, the Justice Department or other intelligence agencies like the CIA who threatened his imperial sway over the crime-busting organization he had model so on one or the had model so on one of the congression of the congression of the bureau-cratic self. In this relentless but

richly detailed biography. Curt Gentry lauds Hoover for transforming the FBI from a haven for corrupt political hacks into an efficient national police. But during much of the director's extraordinary reign, from 1924 until his death in 1972, the bureau was virtually a law unto itself. Intercepting mail, wiretapping, burglaries, break-ins; the G-men insouciantly did them all, and usually without authorization by the courts or Hoover's nominal boss, the Attorney General. In peak years the FBI had as many as 1,000 bugs in place at any

given time. Bureau agents illegally listened to conversations between Alger I liss and his attorneys during the accused Soviet app's second trail in 1949. When G-men learned (via wiretaps, of course) that the leftlish National Lawyers Guild was preparing a report on the bureaus illegal activities, agents burgled the guild's offices to steal copies we have the president and the Attorney General

would be prepared to counter the charges
For all the sub-rosa snooping, there
were curious gaps in the FBI's store of ill
gotten knowledge. Hoover for years had
loftly denied the existence of organized
crime families. As a result, the FBI had virtually nothing on file about the dros who
were surprised by local police at a new
famous Malia summit in Acadechin, N. 1.

in 1957. Two weeks before John Kennedy's doomed visit to Dallas in November 1963, 1811 agents knew that Lee 'Harvey Oswald had threatened to kill the 'President, but they failed to notify the Secret Service, Houver ordered documents shredded and forced agents to perjure themselves to keep the Warren Commission from discovering this Shamful Japse.



Unforgiving and distrustful, Hoover became a prisoner of his dossier of confidential files

A key source of Hoover's power and langevity in office was his private dossier of personal and official/confidential filesicogatory information, often unsubstanmated, about the misdeeds and peccadillass of celebrities and public officials. The material in these folders, kept under lock and titillate superiors whose favor the director sought to curry and 2) to cow potential opponents into silence and cooperanon. Among the most feared and hated men in Washington was the bureau's unofmeal liaison officer with Congress, whose task it was to inform a Senator, say, whenever G-men unearthed a particularly useful piece of dirt about the individual or his family. From then on, that Senator was If you're dying to see all 16 games, 443 penalties, 1521 grunts, 6236 bone-jarring hits and every single "Hi, Mom," this show is for you.



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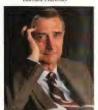
usually in Hoover's back pocket on votes affecting the bureau.

Hoover was unforgiving: once an enemy, always an enemy. Perhaps his most loathed nemesis was "Wild Bill" Donovan, wartime head of the Office of Strategic Services (the CIA's predecessor), who made the mistake of trying to take over the FBI's domestic surveillance operations for his own shop. Long after Donovan's death in 1959, Hoover continued to tell people, falsely, that his old foe had succumbed to synhilis contracted from prostitutes during World War II orgies. Eleanor Roosevelt made Hoover's hate list for having accused him of trying to build an American gestapo. In revenge, the director spread rumors of her alleged love affairs with both men and women. Hoover persuaded comedian W.C. Fields to give him a set of obscene drawings of the President's wife, which he delighted in showing friends.

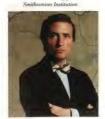
The son of a federal bureaucrat, Hoover had thought of becoming a Presbyterian minister before he was hired by the Justice Department as a clerk in July 1917. He so blatantly cultivated an image of pious rectitude that one wit dubbed him "that Virgin Mary in pants." In reality, Hoover was permanently on the take: he decorated his home at government expense, funneled royalties from his ghostwritten books into a private slush fund, accepted free vacations in Florida and California from toadving millionaires. Hoover had no qualms about using gossip about clandestine homosexual encounters for blackmail. Meanwhile, he was seen so often in the company of his deputy. Clyde Tolson, that stories constantly circulated that the two bachelors were lovers. (Gentry leaves unresolved the question of Hoover's homosexuality and generally is better at describing what the director did than at analyzing what made him tick.)

"Hoover never trusted anyone he didn't have something on," an aide once said. In the end, Gentry argues, Hoover became prisoner of the confidential files he had amassed to keep others in thrall. Harry Truman and John Kennedy had wanted to fire Hoover, but pressure on the director to step down reached a peak during the Nixon era. Fearful that his enemies might succeed. Hoover began going through the confidential folders to determine which ones might prove damaging if they fell into the wrong hands. He had barely reached the letter c when he gave up the task as hopeless. After Hoover's death, his faithful secretary, Helen Gandy, had the personal files secretly transferred to the director's home. It took her 21/2 months to get rid of them all. Destroying the files may have heen illegal. Gentry writes, but it was an honorable attempt to preserve Hoover's good name and that of the bureau. Gandy knew the real secret of the files: "nothing they contained was as derogatory as the very fact that they existed."

E.O. Wilson Harvard University



David Rall National Institute of Environmental



Thomas Lovejov

Albert Gore, Jr. U.S. Senator



James Gustave Speth

World Resources Institute

Michael Glantz National Center for Atmospheric







Some of the crackpots predicting the world is coming to an end.

Recently, some of the foremost scientists and environmental experts from around the world met in the town of Boulder, Colorado.

The subject: the environment. The conclusion: If something was not done quickly, these experts forecasted dire consequences for our planet.

According to computer projections, for example, the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels could increase the Earth's average temperature three to five degrees. Edirenheit. The result: Oceans will rise, causing massive flooding and the destruction of millions of homes along the coast. Because of the release of chlorofluorocarbons, the Earth's protective ozone layer has been dangerously eroded. As a result, scientists are predicting a dramatic increase in the

incidence of skin cancer.

And the millions of tons of
garbage and toxic waste produced
annually threaten to contaminate
precious drinking water supplies,
and present a growing hazard to

human health.

Fortunately, these experts also happen to have some suggestions on how we can prevent these things from ever happening.

Like reducing carbon dioxide pollution by cutting back on our use of coal and improving our energy efficiency. Enforcing a worldwide ban on some-layer-depleting chlorofluorocarbons. And putting greater emphasis

on recycling wastes.

Of course, you could say these

things are inconvenient.

But, then again, just consider
the alternatives.

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Fortunately, every day comes with an evening.



The Power Of a WellTold Tale

South Africa's **NADINE GORDIMER**, awarded the world's most coveted literary prize, talks about Mandela, violence and social change

By PAUL GRAY and BRUCE W. NELAN

Last week Nation Gordaner 67, became the first woman it 25 wars to wan the Nobel Pires to Literature. The annuaucurent of the award pleased renders and erries of the 20 works of fiction, necluding 10 novels, and prompted an interesting response in South effica, where she was horn, where the last bred all of the file, and where there of the books were the last bred all of the file, and where there of the books were within the contract of the companion of the contract of the

Such praise from a South African head of state would, not so long ago, have been unthinkable. For nearth 40 years, Gordimer has spoken out against apartheid, that crazy quilt of laws and restrictions that enabled the white minority to con-

trol and suppress the counrie's black majorits. She has done so in the fiction, although subtly and without tab thamping, the portrays the strains of rucial divisiveness and oppression by monuoring their effect on individual characters, recognizable lives. As a private citizen. Gordinner has often engaged in more direct opposition to her government's policies.

Atthough she distilies having her novels and store collections considered us political statements. Gordiner acknowledges that the scene of most of her fiction—South Africa—made politics a subject she could not ge now. On tour in the U.S. when she received word of her award, the author stalked to TIME about her witing and the dramatic changes now occurring an her nature.

Q. As a writer, you inherited a vivid subject in South Africa. Has it sometimes seemed as much a burden as a blessing?

A. No. I think you're thinking of my subject as Apartheid, capital A. That's not my subject. My subject has been living in that country and the people who live there.

Q. Literature can change individuals. But do you think your books, or anyone's books, have had an impact on the public changes now under way in South Africa?

A. I think that our books have influenced the understanding of people outside South Africa. This can't be done in daily newscasts. There you get the peck, you get the riots, you get the extreme situation. And then the TV turns to the next event. Whereas the liction writer invents, from his or her own observation, the experience that led up to that moment of crisis and, then, what's going to happen to these people afterward. That's what faction deals with: how people's lives are affected permanentally.

Q. Are you concerned that the literate public is actually shrinking because of things like television and other distractions?

A. Well, I think there is a curious paradox in South Africa. We've had televisin for only about 12 years now, which is really very short compared with the test of the world. But of course, it is the most powerful medium in the world, and you'll find in South Africa now televisition aerials sticking up from shades in the poorest black townships. In that conorities On the other hand, because there are may people who really are not book literate, there is an immense hunger. There are so many very intelligent mannerse hunger. There are so many very intelligent

young people would like to be not only more equipped to read but would like the opportunity to do so. You must remember that libraries have only recently been desegregated. I think that there's a great big crowd waiting out there to read popular entertaining books in African languages. The opportunities for publishing and distributing them truly don't exist yet in South



The new Nobel laureate in her Johannesburg study

Q. How do you see your role as a white artist in what will someday soon be a society governed by blacks?

A. I think that I have two roles—that sounds a bit schizophrenic, but I'm convinced I have "I have been

privileged

enough to know

people who are real

heroes: there're not

many left in the

world, but there

are some."

them. I don't think that a writer like myself, an imaginative writer, should put whatever talent he or she has at the service of a revolution, no matter how much you believe in it yourself. And I believe passionately in it. But I think that if you distort whatever little talent you've been given, that's wrong, because talent is the one thing you have and it should be used faithfully in dealing with the world around you.

In practical terms, this means that because I am a member of the African National Congress I must not then in my fiction suggest that everything members of that organization do is right or that there's never any dissension. In My Son's Story, my latest novel, there's a lot of jealousy and strife portrayed among characters who are supposed to be in a branch of the ANC, and they are portrayed because these are the realities of life.

Q. You're saving, then, that an unflattering truth is preferable to the cosmetic distortion?

A. Yes, of course. I have been privileged enough to know people who are real heroes; there're not many left in the world, but there are some. The ones I've known aren't perfect human beings. They're immensely brave, brave beyond any dreams that I or perhaps you could ever have, and their view of life is so incredibly self-sacrificing. But they are not always saints in their love life, in their life as parents or

as children of parents, or even in the friendships of normal life. In other words, they are human and full of faults, and I think that doesn't make the political intensity any less or the heroism any less.

Q. As you say, you have joined the ANC. Is it possible for you to separate that particular action from your artistic life?

A. Yes, because in my commitment and in my heart I have for many years virtually belonged to the ANC; this has been my allegiance. Now it's a matter of carrying a card. I finally joined because this is the first political organization or party that I wanted to identify with. From a personal view, as a human being and citizen, it's very nice to feel at last that there's something that I can belong to.

But this has nothing to do with my writing. If I have resisted so far any pressures to use my fiction as propaganda, I'm certainly not going to start now

Q. How do you feel about the current progress in South Africa? Is it going well?

A. There are tremendous problems, but I don't think that Nelson Mandela or the ANC has been deflected from the course to be followed

I am constantly staggered by Nelson. He's an amazing phenomenon; we really didn't think he was ever going to come out of that prison alive. When he did come out, we went through that period of tremendous cuphoria, which I think people certainly deserved after all those years of frustration. But for myself and many others, we couldn't be naive enough to imagine that all was going to go smoothly. And obviously, so far, it hasn't,

Q. In spite of that, do you remain hopeful about the way things are going?

A. Oh, absolutely. I really feel that what has happened so far cannot ever be put back; it is irreversible. That does not mean that the white regime will not try to stall as long as possible. But having gone so far already. I simply cannot see how this process can be arrested or turned back. The sad thing is that, in order to bring it to its conclusion, more trouble may lie ahead.

Q. Do you think that these dramatic changes that are currently taking place in South Africa will alter what you do or the literature that is now coming out of your

country? A. I don't think it'll change what I'm doing or what other writers are doing. But the things we see and going to be even more complex. great expectations of getting out of

write about, which have always been complex in my country, are I've already noticed that there's a strange feeling of being lost in a new milieu. Maybe a person has a ghetto and then, once free of it, experiences the sense of not belonging somewhere. As we move

away from race, we are beginning to see how strong the factor of social class can be.

Q. In your fiction you have written from inside the consciousness of characters who are male, female, white, black. Increasingly, members of specific genders or races are objecting to being portrayed by those who come from outside their groups. How do you feel about this?

A. I think such complaints arise out of a kind of astonishment, a puzzled feeling, about what writers do. Whatever writers write, they are always inventing personalities, unless they are writing an autobiography. What about James Joyce's Molly Bloom soliloguy in Ulysses? Here's a man who described the most intimate feelings of a woman; in my opinion, none of us, none of the women, have ever approached this. We have to grant that it's just an extraordinary, inexplicable faculty that writers have if they're any good. I really appeal to people and say. If they appreciate literature at all, they should take such imaginative extensions as a gift of insight that writers are trying to pass on to other people.

Q. Will the Nobel Prize change anything for you?

A. No, not really. I suppose this will die down. In a few days there'll be some other sensation, and I'll go home to South Africa and start writing again in



Essay

Charles Krauthammer

The Man Who Loved Dictators

Just days after Boris Yeltsin risked his life to defeat the August coup, anonymous White House sources were leaking contempt and disdain for Yelsin. A week earlier, the man had saved not only his country but the entire Bush foreign policy (which had placed all its bets on Gorbachev) and Washington was already dumping on him.

To be sure, a few days later the White House tried to take it all back. But what was said was said, and it was not the first time. Two years earlier, the White House had similarly beaten up on Yelfsin, labeling him a lightweight and a demagogue, a man unworthy of doing business with the President of the U.S.

Not that the White House favored the Stalinist coupmongers (although the President's initial reaction to the coup was, as Margaret Thatcher would have said, wobbly). But the Administration's obvious favorite in Moscow is not Yeltsin but Gorbachev.

Gorbachev merits respect. History will bonor him for having set in train the second Russian revolution. The White House, however, has favored him not for his historic qualities but for his personal and political ones: he was the polished, predictable, if dictatorial, leader of a unitary Soviet state. Yeltsin was the crude, rash, populist leader of a new political anima (Russia), a china-breaking democrat.

This is an Administration that prefers strongmen and dictators, Nothing entirely new here, but at least in the past we supported the likes of Somora and Marcos in the name of anticommunism. Multa it the excuse now? One of Bush's favorite dictators is Deng Xiaoping, a communist whose speciality is the expression of democratic (and ferentily prosecuted to the property of the proper

heavy domestic opposition to Bush's policy of appeasement. But the most egregious case of this preference for dictators, particularly for their ability to bring "stability" to those parts of the world deemed too primitive to tolerate democracy, is Saddam Hussein, For it was Bush who saved Saddam. In the crucial days after the gulf way, then the Shirtle south and the Kurdsh north were in revolt, Saddam was hanging by a thread. The Administration could easily have tipped the bul-

ance against him. It chose not to, It stayed its hand—muted its threats and grounded its aircraft—in the name of stability and the unity of the Iraqi state.

True, Bush would have preferred and called many times for another Baathist to put a bullet through Saddam's head. His first choice was Saddamism without Saddam. But his see-

ond choice was Suddamism with Suddam.

A few months later, Secretary of State Baker went to Yugoslavia on the eve of civil war and gave the distinct impression to all involved that the U.S. favored the unitary Yugoslavian state, then controlled by Serbian communists. This signal too had to be withdrawn when the Serbian-controlled army set out to restore the unitary state with tanks

Wrong every time. Every time favoring stability, dictatorship, central rule over the messiness and uncertainty that come with independence and democracy.

Why? In some cases, sheer familiarily, Bush knows Deng from his good old days a envoy to China. And he has an easy rapport with Gorbachev. In some sense, he even thought he shew Saddam, preferring the devil he knew to some unknown Shi'ite or Kardish revolutionary. There is an element too of soabbers, Bush is confortable with the club of words leaders soabbers, Bush is confortable with the club of words leaders soabbers, Bush is confortable with the club of words leaders prefenders. The easing not have been also the preferred of the But they know how to hold a fort.

Then there is sheer diplomatic laziness. It is much easier to deal with one Yugoslavia, one Soviet Union, a unified and dictatorial China than it is to deal with fractured countries and a multiplicity of republics.

But there is a deeper reason why the Administration prefers dictators to democrats: for Bush, the central value of the New World Order is order. Empires are better at it than newborn democracies, (Consider India before and after British rule, for example,) Dictators are better at it than democrats.

But only in the short run. And that is where the Bush policy falls, even on its own terms. It is a shortsighted, short-run prescription for order. After all, is the Persian Gulf more stable with Saddam and the Baath, or would it not have been better to remove this artificial repressor and once and for all allow Iraq to develop along more natural and representative ethnic fines?

Will China's communist neo-orthodoxy make for a more stable future, or does it merely delay and aggravate the coming postcommunist instability? We already know the answer to that question for the Soviet Union; just a few too many years of centralized control have much the transition to a looser confederation of the control have made the transition to a looser confederation thinking harder. (Ukraine, for example, will not today activation of the control have the control of the control of the variation of the control of the control of the control of the variation of the control of the control of the control of the control was ago.) And the Yugolar policy was so shortsighted that it lasted but a few days longer than the Soviet cour.

This Administration has shown good judgment in some foreign policy enterprises (German unification) and courage in others (the gulf war). But its general foreign policy prowess has been overrated. This has been the luckiest Administration in American history. After 40 years of struggle against the Soviet empire, it happened to be on station on the day the empire collapsed.

When it does exercise discretion trying to manage the collapse, it operates under a monumental handicap. This is the age of revolution, and Bush does not much like revolutionaries.

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- 31. Bumper rub strips.
- 32. Flash-to-pass.
- 33. Maintenance-free battery.
- 34. Day/night rearview mirror.
- 35. Compact spare tire.
- 36. Side window demisters.
- 37. Counterbalanced-shaft engine.
- 38. Trip odometer.

Total \$12,129**

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- 39. Air conditioning.
- 40. Electronic speed control.
- 41. Four-speaker stereo system.
- 42. Tilt steering column.
- 43. Electric rear window defroster.
- 44. Tinted glass.
- 45. Front & rear floor mats.

Grand Total \$12,559**



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